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Conservative and Unionist
Central Office...

Chinese and “slavery”

[London]

[1905]

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... Chinese and "slavery". London.
Published by the Conservative central office
-1905.
cover-title, 52 p. (Notes for speakers,
no. 11) 21 cm.

81812

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TRACKING # :

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES

MAIN ENTRY: Conservative and Unionist Central Office
(Great Britian)

Chinese and "slavery"

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NOTES FOR SPEAKERS, No. 11.

CHINESE AND "SLAVERY"

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E. R. A. Seligman
10-13-37

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Bye-Elections.

CHINESE AND "SLAVERY."

[These "Notes for Speakers" do not claim to be more than a collection of points likely to be useful to Conservative candidates, speakers and writers. Lord Selborne's valuable Report and Mr. Lyttelton's reply have been reprinted as "Notes for Speakers No. 8," and should be consulted.]

THE ORDINANCE AND THE SYSTEM.

With the conclusion of the war, it became evident that the supply of native labour—the shortage of which had been increasing for some years—was becoming so insufficient that unless steps were taken to remedy the matter the whole progress of the country would be retarded.

"The short supply of native labour," says Mr. Birchenough in his report, "is the dominating factor in the industrial and economic situation, since it alone stands between the present moderate progress and a period of remarkable expansion. It is equally in the interests of all the South African Colonies, and of all industries, that a solution of the question should speedily be found."

In 1903, at Bloemfontein, at the Conference of all the South African States, a resolution was passed declaring that the supply of native labour was insufficient, and approving, under proper restrictions, of the introduction of Asiatic labour.

THE LABOUR COMMISSION.

Later, a Commission was appointed to enquire into the requirement and supply of native labour. Ten out of the twelve Commissioners reported:—

- (1) That the demand for native labour for agriculture in the Transvaal is largely in excess of the present supply, and as the development of the country proceeds this demand will greatly increase.
- (2) That the demand for native labour for the Transvaal mining industry is in excess of the present supply by about 129,000 labourers; and, whilst no complete data of the future requirements of the whole industry are obtainable, it is estimated that the mines of the Witswatersrand alone will require, within the next five years, an additional supply of 196,000 labourers.

* "Commercial Mission to South Africa."—C.I. 1844, p. 75.

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* "Commercial Mission to South Africa."—Cd. 1844, p. 75.

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- (3) That the demand for native labour for other Transvaal industries, including railways, is greatly in excess of the present supply, and will increase concurrently with the advancement of mining and agriculture.
- (4) That there is no adequate supply of labour in Central and Southern Africa to meet the above requirements.

THE TRANSVAAL LABOUR ORDINANCE—An Analysis.

The figures in thick type refer to the sections of the Ordinance.

PREAMBLE.—Desirable to make provision for the introduction of unskilled labourers into the Witwatersrand District for work in the mines. Interpretation of the terms labourer, importer, &c. (1).

Appointment of Officers: their Powers and Duties.

Superintendent and inspectors of labourers to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor (2). Superintendent and inspectors of labourers to have power to inspect condition, treatment and housing of labourers, and to hear complaints (3). To have power to summon witnesses; penalties to be imposed for refusing to be sworn, or for giving false evidence (4). No labourer to be introduced until registration of contract (5).

Introduction of Labourers.

No labourers to be introduced except under this Ordinance (6). Licenses to be granted to perform unskilled labour only in the exploitation of minerals within the Witwatersrand District; no license to be granted until Lieutenant-Governor is satisfied (A) that adequate provision has been made for medical examination, for prevention of forwarding insane, or those suffering from contagious or infectious disease, for control of labourers on voyage out and home; (B) that housing accommodation is ready; (C) that proper security has been given (*See* section 22); £100 to be paid on every license; every license to state port through which labourers are introduced; no labourer to be employed elsewhere than in Witwatersrand District (7). Every labourer to sign a contract; all provisions to be explained to him; a certificate to that effect to be attached (8).

Introduction subject to conditions as follows:—(A) Labourer only to be employed on unskilled labour in the Witwatersrand mines; not to be employed in trades in Schedule I; (B) only to serve person introducing him, or persons to whom the rights of that person may be transferred; (C) on termination of contract, labourer to be returned home at expense of importer; (D) enumerates provisions of contract (9). No contract to be entered into for more than three years, subject to renewal for same period; no contract to be registered until bond mentioned in sec. 22 has been entered into; introduction of labourers for employment not in accordance with sections 8 and 9 an offence (10). Contracts may be transferred; notice of such to be sent to superintendent (11). No labourer to be removed from one place to another without superintendent's written permission (12).

Control of Labourers.

Importer to make returns on registration of contract, showing number, places of employment, and certain particulars of labourers employed by

him (13). Labourers not to trade, acquire, lease, or hold land (14). Passports—always to be carried—to be issued to every labourer (15). Register containing particulars of transfers, deaths, unlawful absences, and desertions to be kept by importer; returns to be made every month to superintendent; in case of death, medical certificate to be forwarded to superintendent (16). Register to be open to inspection (17). Labourers to reside on premises on which they are employed; accommodation for them to be provided; to be in charge of a manager (18). Labourers must be provided with permits in case of absence; no permit to last for more than forty-eight hours; labourers not to go outside Witwatersrand District (19). Production of passport and permits may be demanded from any person suspected to be a labourer by police (20). Provision for certain statistical returns (21).

Return of Labourers to their Country of Origin.

Bond to be entered into by importer for return of labourers to their country of origin (22). Importer to notify superintendent of the date of expiration of contract, and to take steps for return of labourers (23). In reckoning period of service, time spent in prison, desertion, or unlawful absence, not to be counted (24). Labourers refusing to work may be ordered to be returned to country of origin (25). May be returned on conviction of offence, on becoming insane, or permanently incapacitated (26). Importer to pay for return, except when labourer is convicted of offences (27). Labourer refusing to return to be fined £10, or three months' imprisonment; then to be forcibly returned (28).

Regulations.

Lieutenant-Governor may make regulations respecting issue of licenses; registration and inspection of labourers; return of labourers; control of families of labourers; returns and registers; control of labourers; medical examination; housing, clothing, rations, food and sanitation; property and rights of labourers; care of sick and injured; inspection of labourers' premises; prevention of desertion; generally for proper administration (29). Penalties for breaches of regulations are (1) in the case of a labourer (A) a fine not exceeding £20; (B) imprisonment not exceeding six months. (2) In the case of another person (A) a fine not exceeding £100; (B) imprisonment not exceeding one year; (C) forfeiture of license; (D) disqualification for holding license in future (30).

Offences.

OFFENCES AGAINST ORDINANCE.—Contravention of section 5; aiding labourers to contravene provisions of Ordinance; failure to make returns; false returns; withholding wages; employment on other than unskilled labour in the mines of the Witwatersrand District; illegal transference; transference of property to labourers; obstruction of officers in discharge of duties; harbouring deserters or law breakers; desertion or illegal work by labourers; neglect to report desertion; trading by labourers; valuable consideration for transfer (31). Certain laws not to apply (32). Wives and families not to reside in Colony unless introduced by importer, under same conditions as labourer; importers to return families and children (33). Ordinance not to apply to introduction of British Indians for employment on railways (34). Title:—Labour Importation Ordinance,

1904. Not to take effect unless and until His Majesty's pleasure not to disallow the same be proclaimed (35).

SCHEDULE I.

This schedule contains a list of trades forbidden to be exercised by Chinese. The principal trades are:—

Assayer,	Fireman overseer,	Mine storeman,
Blacksmith,	Fitter,	Painter,
Boilermaker,	Ganger,	Plasterer,
Brass worker,	Joiner	Platelayr,
Bricklayer,	Machine rockdriller,	Plumber,
Carpenter,	Machinist,	Signaller,
Clerk,	Mason,	Stone cutter,
Coppersmith,	Mechanic,	Tinsmith,
Electrician,	Miller,	Turner,
Engine driver,	Millwright,	Wire splicer.
Engineer,	Mine overseer,	

SCHEDULE II.

This schedule consists of a copy of the license granted to the importers.

The Ordinance Sanctioned.

On 12th March, 1904, the Colonial Office issued the following announcement:—"The Secretary of State for the Colonies telegraphed last night to Lord Milner, informing him that it is His Majesty's pleasure not to disallow the Labour Importation Ordinance, which cannot, however, be brought into operation for the present."

The delay, however, was only caused by the fact that certain appointments of officers necessary to carry out the Ordinance had not been made, and that certain arrangements with the Chinese Government had not been completed.

The Regulations : an Analysis.

The regulations published in Cd. 1986 were briefly as follows:—

No person to recruit unless possessing a license (1).

Every contract to be signed in presence of representative of Transvaal Government at port of embarkation (2).

Official to explain terms of contract in labourers' language (3).

Every contract to be in duplicate, one for the importer and one for the Superintendent; the labourer to have a copy in Chinese (4).

No contract to be signed before medical examination (5).

Contract may be terminated by labourer on payment of expenses of bringing and taking back his wife and children, if any (6).

Transfers only to be signed after full meaning has been explained to labourer; no transfer to take place until registration; on transfer, new passport to be issued without fee (11).

Lieutenant-Governor only to sanction transfer on production of certificate signed by Superintendent (12).

As far as possible, families and friends are not to be separated (13).

Every labourer having signed contract, to be carried to Durban in properly fitted ship (14).

Medical examination to take place at Durban; labourers to be met and arrangements made for conveyance of wives and children to Rand; no labourer to land who does not come in proper ship; Superintendent to be satisfied that every labourer has signed contract in accordance with requirements; if this is not the case, and the labourer is unwilling to go to the mines, he and his family are to be returned at importer's expense (15).

Labourers and families to be provided with medicine and medical attendance (21).

Wages to be paid in current coin (24).

No deductions to be made, except in the case of money paid in advance, this sum to be certified by official before whom contract is signed (25).

No deductions to be made for stores (26).

Wages due to labourer may be demanded by Inspector, who, if necessary, may sue for them (27).

Labourer entitled to be accompanied by wife and children at expense of importer; they may follow him, providing his name and address is registered for that purpose (33).

In the case of transfer, wife and children to accompany labourer (34).

Labourer to be returned in proper ship, as in Regulation 14.

The Deputation to Lord Milner.

From the Transvaal, protests came in against the attitude of the Radicals to the question. On 10th March, 1904, Lord Milner received a large deputation representing some thirty public bodies and associations, and about forty mines in the Witwatersrand district. Among them were included the Town Council of Johannesburg, chambers of trade and commerce, associations of mine managers, engineers, chartered accountants, surveyors, architects and other representatives of the industries and professions of the country. They asked him to telegraph the following resolution to the Colonial Secretary:—

"We desire most earnestly to impress on His Majesty's Government:—

"That it is the interests of the whole white community of this Colony that are at stake, and more especially of the British population engaged in commerce and industry which are dependent on an adequate supply of coloured labour.

"That so far from the importation of unskilled labour diminishing the employment of whites, it must necessarily augment it.

"That failing the immediate giving effect to Ordinance, an increasing number of white workers will find themselves without the means of livelihood, and the present financial and industrial depression will be intensely aggravated."

At this deputation, a telegram was read from the Bishop of Pretoria, regretting his absence and stating his belief that the importation of unskilled Asiatic labour, under Government regulations, was the only solution of the present difficulties.

The Attitude of the Self-governing Colonies.

The statement is frequently made by the Radicals that all the self-governing Colonies have adopted an attitude hostile to the Ordinance. This is another Radical inaccuracy, based, we hope for conscience sake, on ignorance.

Both Natal and Canada have passed resolutions affirming that this question is the business of the Transvaal, and have absolutely refused to have anything to do with the matter.

Mr. Bryce's View.

The Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., now Irish Secretary, in his book, "Impressions of South Africa," says (p. 447):—"It is only the development of the mines that makes South Africa a growing market for European goods."

As regards the possibility of employing white labour, Mr. Bryce also bears witness. On page 443 of his book he says: "**All rough, hard work is done by natives. . . . White men think it beneath them, and only fit for blacks.**" On pages 349-50 he says: "**The coloured man is indispensable to the white man. . . . He is deemed a necessary part of the economic machinery of the country, whether for mining or for manufacture, for tillage or for ranching.**"

The Radical Asiatic Labour Ordinance.

Mr. Markham is the **Radical member** of the House of Commons for the Mansfield division of Notts. He does not agree with the official views of his Party on the Transvaal Ordinance.

He prefers truth to fiction, and fact to misrepresentation.

In "The Times" of 5th April, 1904, he compares the "slave regulations" of the Transvaal Ordinance with those of the British Guiana Ordinance which the Radicals allowed in 1894, when Lord Ripon was Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Sydney Buxton, Under Secretary.

Here is Mr. Markham's comparison:—

BRITISH GUIANA ORDINANCE
(Radical).

Labourer indentured for **five years**.
Labourer can be transferred **without his consent**.

After ten years' service, immigrant entitled to be sent home after he has **paid** a quarter of his passage money and one-sixth of his wife's passage money.*

TRANSVAAL ORDINANCE
(Unionist).

Three years.
Labourer **must give his consent** in writing to transfer.
Labourer and his family sent home **free** at the end of three years.

* Repealed in 1906.

BRITISH GUIANA ORDINANCE
(Radical).

The employer has the right to **force the labourer** to do piecework whether the labourer consents or not. The rates are fixed by the employer, the labourer can appeal to the magistrate if he can prove the rate is unfair.

Labourer **compelled** to do any class of work his employer desires. Any labourer "using any threatening word or gesture to his employer," two months' imprisonment or a fine of £5.

If any employer chooses "reasonably" to throw out work done by the labourer, the employer has the power to compel the labourer to amend the work at the labourer's expense, the penalty for refusing is a **fine or imprisonment**.

Any "labourer who persuades or attempts to persuade any other immigrant unlawfully to refuse, absent himself from, or desert from work," is liable to **punishment by fine or imprisonment**.

No passport to enable labourer to return home can be issued till he has served **five years**, "except with the special permission of the Governor," the labourer to **pay entire cost** of introduction and passage home.

Pay of labourer fixed at 24 cents (1s.) a day; if not "able-bodied" 18 cents (9d.) a day. Out of this sum he **has to keep himself**.

Every indentured immigrant is bound to reside on the **plantation** on which he works; he cannot absent himself without leave.

Mr. Markham might also have added:—

BRITISH GUIANA ORDINANCE
(Radical).

Every police constable may, without warrant, stop any immigrant whom he may suspect of **being** absent without leave.

TRANSVAAL ORDINANCE
(Unionist).

Labourer **free** to make what bargain he likes as to piecework rates.

Labourer engaged to do unskilled labour on the mines, **not permitted** to do any other class of work. (No provision.)

(No provision.)

(No provision.)

Labourer **free** to return home **any time** by paying his return fare, and a proportion of his fare inwards for the time he declines to serve.

The **pay** of the labourer is **2s.* a day**, he is provided with **food and housing free of cost**.

The labourer has to reside in the compound or **Chinese village**, he cannot absent himself without a pass.

TRANSVAAL ORDINANCE
(Unionist).

When on leave, labourer may be asked for his pass at any time.

* See page 13.

A "Slave" Regulation.

There is one section of the Radical "slave" Ordinance to which, public attention should be directed. It is a section that Radicals prefer to forget when they are raging against the Transvaal Ordinance. It is this—"In the event of any plantation on which an immigrant is under indenture being sold or leased, such immigrant shall render the same service to the purchaser or other new employer, and for the same term as he would have been bound to render to his original employer." (British Guiana Ordinance, section 182.)

This section was sanctioned by Radicals who now are loudest in denouncing the introduction of Asiatic labour into the Transvaal on the ground that the labourer is a chattel, without a voice in his own disposition. What voice did they give to the labourer toiling in the plantations? None whatever!

In the Transvaal Ordinance sanctioned by the Unionists, the contrary is the case. By Regulation 12, it is expressly provided that "the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor to the transfer of the services of a labourer . . . shall be given in writing, and only on the production of a certificate signed by the Superintendent that the agreement as to transfer has been explained to the labourer, and that he consents thereto and has signed the same."

By the Unionist Ordinance, the labourer's consent must be obtained to a transfer; by the Radical Ordinance, he may be transferred from one employer to another, and he has never a word to say in the matter. Radicals raise a howl of "slavery" when the Unionist Ordinance is mentioned; when their own offspring is under discussion, they say nothing. There is nothing to be said.

"The Chinese Shame" started by Radicals.

The baseness and hypocrisy of the Radical "slavery" agitation has been again and again demonstrated. But the preamble of the Convention between this country and China should be especially borne in mind. The paragraph in question runs as follows:—"Whereas, a Convention between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and His Majesty the Emperor of China was signed at Peking on 24th October, 1860, by Article V. of which His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of China consented to allow Chinese subjects wishing to take service in British Colonies or other parts beyond the seas, to enter into engagements with British subjects and to ship themselves and their families on board of British vessels at the open ports of China in conformity with regulations to be drawn up between the two Governments for the protection of such emigrants. . . ."

A Radical Government was in power in 1860. Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer. That Radical Government negotiated this treaty, by Article V. of which the introduction of Chinese labour into the British Colonies was deliberately intended and sanctioned.

Radicals cannot wriggle out of the charge that they themselves devised the scheme which they call "slavery."

The Chinese Labour Convention.

The Convention between the United Kingdom and China respecting the employment of Chinese labour was signed on 13th May, 1904. The regulations were framed in accordance with the clause mentioned above of the Radical Treaty of 1860, by which Chinese labour could be admitted into any British Colony, under certain conditions.

Under these regulations, the Chinese Government must be informed in detail of the terms and conditions of the engagement. A Chinese Inspector is to be appointed at the port of departure, who will see that every labourer is fully informed of the terms of the agreement. An Emigration agency is to be created for carrying on the work connected with the embarkation. Here copies of the Indenture and Ordinance, in English and Chinese, are to be posted up in conspicuous places. A register of emigrants is to be kept in the agency. All emigrants are to undergo medical examination before they go on board. The British Consular Officer and the Chinese Inspector are to examine each emigrant, to find out whether he perfectly understands the indenture.

Ships conveying emigrants can only start from a treaty port. A Chinese Consul can be appointed by the Emperor, if necessary, to watch over the interests and well-being of the emigrants. Every indenture must clearly specify the country for which the labourer is required; the duration of the engagement; if renewable, upon what terms; hours of labour per working day; nature of work; rate of wages; mode of payment; rations; clothing; grant of free passage out; where such is provided, free passage back to China for himself and family; right to free medical attendance and medicine; and all other advantages.

The indenture must be signed, or, in cases of illiteracy, marked by the emigrant, in the presence of the British Consular Officer and the Chinese Inspector. Each emigrant is to be given a copy of the indenture in Chinese and English.

Officers are to be appointed to see that the emigrant has free access to the Courts of Justice, and that redress for injuries to his person and property is secured. All possible postal facilities are to be given the emigrant for writing home and sending remittances to his family. Repatriation must be to the port of shipment in China. Money payment in lieu is forbidden. No transfer can take place without the emigrant's free consent. A fee is to be paid to the Chinese Government for each indentured emigrant shipped.

As regards wages, labourers not on piecework are placed on the native schedule of pay. If, however, within six months of a labourer's arrival, his average pay does not equal 50s. per month, the rate is to be increased to 1s. 6d. for each working day of ten hours.

Work for More Whites.

The following figures are taken from the Mining Engineers' Report of the Transvaal Government showing the number of whites at work in the mines of the Witwatersrand District :—

	End of each month.			
	No. of whites.	No. of natives.	No. of Chinese.	No. of stamps running.
1904.				
June	12,730	68,174	1,004	4,755
July	13,038	67,187	1,388	4,670
August	13,685	67,138	4,945	4,770
September	13,775	69,587	9,020	4,800
October	13,857	72,525	12,965	4,920
November... ..	14,233	75,347	17,469	5,195
December	14,346	77,218	20,885	5,545
1905.				
January	14,873	82,847	27,222	5,770
February	15,162	90,178	31,424	5,986
March	15,537	96,735	34,335	6,225
April	15,516	98,598	35,575	6,365
May	15,888	97,310	38,111	6,552
June	16,158	95,309	41,340	6,639
July	16,346	94,292	43,191	6,664
August	16,573	90,998	44,609	6,845
September	16,960	88,981	44,538	6,755

Some Figures for Radicals.

Radical papers and speakers have not taken at all kindly to Mr. Lyttelton's figures relating to crime among the Chinese in the Transvaal. So much capital have the Radicals made out of outrages and desertions, that the Colonial Secretary's figures come as a crushing blow.

It is said by the Opposition that the Chinese are in a miserable position of slavery, that they have shown criminal instincts, that they deserted and disliked their employment.

What grounds have the Radicals for saying that the Chinese are treated as slaves? For example, the Rev. C. E. Lowe, superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Transvaal, speaking at Totnes, on 16th November, 1904, said :—

"He would say that God was his witness, that if he thought there was any touch of slavery about it, anything wrong would never be justified by mere economic necessity."—*Totnes Times*, 19th November, 1904.

So, too, Mr. Burt, M.P., in his recent book, says :—

"The dining rooms, dormitories, wash-houses, were all on a large scale, clean, orderly, well ventilated and well arranged. Of wholesome, nutritious food there was ample supply. So far as these and other important points essential to physical health and convenience are concerned,

here was, so far as I could see, no room for complaint or criticism."—*Visit to the Transvaal*, p. 58.

As for the criminal instincts of the Chinese, who shall maintain that crime there is worse than in many places in England? What is the proportion of serious crimes among the Chinese? By serious crimes we mean offences punished by sentences of over six months. Out of 45,000 Chinese, 68% only had been convicted of serious crime. Sixty-eight out of 45,000 is one-seventh per cent., or one out of every 700!

Then as to desertions. Radicals have made much out of them. But at the most there were on 4th September, 1905, 275 Chinese labourers who had deserted and had not been brought back. Radicals who desire to work it out will find that this is about eleven-eightieths of one Chinaman out of every hundred. Within five days 125 of the 275 had been accounted for, and to that extent was the eleven-eightieths of one per cent. reduced.

These figures should put an end to Radical exaggerations, which were almost without limit.

"Forced on the Country."

Radicals say that Chinese labour was forced on the Transvaal. But that cannot be supported by proof. The Government did their best to ascertain the opinion of the Colony before assenting to the Ordinance. The Bloemfontein Conference in 1903, composed of representatives from Rhodesia, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange River Colony, and Cape Colony, declared unanimously for the introduction of Chinese labour. Upon the demands of all sections in the Transvaal a Commission was appointed to consider the question of the shortage of unskilled labour. This Commission, representative of every class of the community, consisted of 12 members: ten of them signed the majority report showing the necessity for Asiatic labour.

A resolution in favour of this course was introduced into the Legislative Council, not as a Government, but as a private member's motion (in order to test better public feeling). Of the 22 members of the Council, 18 voted in favour of the resolution. There were nine unofficial members in the majority. Of these four were Boers, two were leading men of business, two were connected with the mining industry, and one was a British farmer.

Whilst the motion was passing its several readings in the Council there was full opportunity for opposition to develop. During that period numerous public meetings passed resolutions in favour of the motion. A petition was signed by 40,000 male whites over the age of 16 to the same effect. Urgency prevented a referendum being taken as there was then no registered electorate. For the same reason industry could not be kept waiting until representative Government had been granted.

The opinion that the Government came to was based upon many sources. Radicals cannot maintain that it was not correct in face of these three facts :—

- (i) Not a single petition has been received from the Transvaal for the withdrawal of the Ordinance.
- (ii) The great Boer organisation, "Het Volk," undertook in certain contingencies not to oppose its working for five years.

(iii.) Mr. Quin, a resolute opponent of the Ordinance, and one of the members of the Commission who signed the minority report against the coming of Chinese, said at a public banquet:—

"The Chinese are here; the Ordinance is passed; the people appear to be contented; there is no objection raised, and as far as I am concerned in any politics I may take part in the future, the question is finished."—*Cd. 2,401, p. 86.*

Some Points for Radicals.

Radicals who denounce Chinese labour as "slavery" overlook one or two important points. The first point is this, that if the Chinese are sent back, the result would be that 5,000 skilled whites would be put out of work.

The second point is that the Transvaal wants railways, irrigation works, water borings and a Land Bank. All these are necessary if the country is to be developed. But they all cost money, and if the Chinese are sent out of the country about one-third of the mines would be closed down, and to that extent would the Government have less money to spend on development.

The Transvaal is like a man who wants two legs to stand upon. One of those legs is agriculture; the other the mines. They are both absolutely necessary to one another. Only if the mining industry is prosperous will there be a market for the farmers' produce and public money to spend on agricultural developments. On the other hand it is only by the farmers' produce that living is possible in the great cities.

Radicals would do well to bear these points in mind.

With regard to the outrages, it should be remembered that there are some 45,000 Chinese on unskilled work in the mines. Among the Chinese, just as among every community, there are bound to be undesirable characters. To speak plainly there are white scoundrels and black scoundrels in the Transvaal as well as Chinese scoundrels. It is the duty of the Government to find these Chinese undesirable and turn them out of the country.

The majority of the Chinese, quite 44,000 of them, are very peaceable and easily managed.

Lord Rosebery seems to have got rather out of his depth when he suggested that Australia should be allowed to express its opinion on the question of Chinese labour in the Transvaal. No less a person than Lord Rosebery's own leader, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, has disclosed views of exactly the opposite nature. In the House of Commons on 27th July, 1905, he said that Chinese labour was "a domestic matter," and—

"If the inhabitants of the Transvaal, having full opportunity of expressing their opinion, deliberately endorse the policy which has been adopted, I, for one, should not be disposed to interfere with them in that decision."—*Times*, 28th July, 1905.

CHINESE LABOUR DEBATE.

The Chinese Labour debate in the House of Commons on 17th February, 1905, was remarkable for the very modest tone adopted by the Opposition.

Mr. Lyttelton dealt categorically and successfully with the various charges brought against the Conservative and Unionist Government.

These we set out below:—

(i.) THE WIVES AND FAMILIES.

As to the contention that the Government had broken its pledges with regard to the introduction of women, he said he had undertaken that all coolies who desired to bring their wives and families should have an opportunity of doing so. But he did not suppose the mover of the amendment would go so far as to say that he should impose any compulsion on coolies to bring their wives. It was said that the coolies did not know of this provision. This was a most extraordinary statement in view of the fact that no fewer than 4,000 coolies had registered themselves as married men and had registered their wives under the Ordinance, in order to have an opportunity, if they wished, of sending for them.

(ii.) FALSE CONTRACTS.

He thought he could say on what ground the member for Camberwell (Dr. Macnamara) alleged that this matter was not brought to the notice of the Chinese. The Rev. Arnold Forster, a missionary who lived 600 miles from Tien-tsin, saw in a newspaper in March, 1904, an advertisement which no doubt was an incomplete copy of the contract and did not contain the provision in question. He would explain how that advertisement happened to be put in that paper. Before the final terms of the contract were settled a rough draft was circulated to the agents; and one of these recruiting firms thereupon took steps to negative some of the preposterous falsehoods which they considered were current on the subject. Nobody was recruited until June, and before June thousands of copies of the full contract were sent into the districts concerned.

(iii.) THE KAFFIRS.

The right hon. gentleman was solicitous on behalf of the Kaffir, and he said that Kaffirs were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country and British subjects, and had a right not to be unfairly competed with by aliens. What were the facts? The facts were that since the Chinese had come last June, the native Kaffir workers in the mines had increased by almost 10,000, and were obtaining a higher wage now than they obtained in 1899, before the war. Was it not sheer nonsense to say that the Kaffirs had been under-cut in their labour and unfairly competed with by Chinamen when the effect of that unfair competition was to increase their numbers in the mines and not to diminish their wages?

(iv.) WAGES.

No one would wish that even a mine owner should pay unnecessary wages to a man who was malingering. There were a certain number of malingers even among the Chinese, and if there was a high *minimum* wage it might encourage the malingering; but if the *minimum* wage was put at 1s., and piecework was allowed, at which the men would be able to earn as much as 2s. 9d., hard work would be encouraged and malingering discouraged. No one could say that the wages the Chinamen were obtaining at present were not six or seven times as much as the wages they could obtain in their own country. No one would say that in the House, whatever they might say out of it. Neither would any one contend for a moment that their situation compared with that in their own country was not one of comparative affluence and comfort.

(v.) SKILLED LABOUR.

He was supposed to have misled the House by saying that the Chinaman was not to be a skilled labourer. Hon. members who were so jealous for the Chinaman's freedom and liberty were not content with the scheduling of 54 employments as employments in which he might not be engaged. He was to do unskilled work only. The hon. gentleman who seconded the amendment was not content with the restriction. He wished to knock off the ability of the Chinaman to become a boss boy. Boss boys among the Kaffirs were those who were employed to convey communications to those with whom they were working, and it was provided that the Chinaman should be able to take the place of these boss boys. If it were not for the white population of the Transvaal, the mine owners need not have had this Ordinance. The only purpose of it was to impose certain limitations upon the introduction of Chinese. How did it work out? There was a penalty of £500 on any evasion of the Ordinance. If any Chinaman did skilled work, their employers were liable to a fine of £500. Who enforced that provision? The white men, the skilled men who worked in the mines. The white men were there on the spot, and they had the greatest interest in the enforcement of the law. In them they had the most efficient police for carrying out this Ordinance that could possibly be found.

(vi.) WORK FOR MORE WHITES.

Then the Government were stated to have misled the House because they asserted that the importation of Chinese would bring a large accession of white skilled labour on to the Rand. The increase of white labour in and about the mines had been 1,600 or more. It was perfectly true that a certain proportion of that increase was due to those who built and repaired the compounds, which was not an occupation for miners. It was perfectly true also that the ratio of the white men employed to the black men employed would somewhat diminish. That must obviously be the case. There must be a certain number of foremen in a mine who must be there, whether 1,000 or 2,000 men were working in the mine. When a mine was opened there would be a full establishment of white foremen, and the ratio of white men to black would be larger at first than it would be at a later stage when more black men were employed. But taking the broad fact, in 1898, before the war, the proportion of white men to black men in the mines was 119 to 1,000. It was to-day 143. Therefore, under the condition of things which now existed, in which Chinese labour had supplemented but not supplanted Kaffir labour, they had a higher amount of service and a higher proportion of wages for whites than before the war.

(vii.) MORTALITY.

They had succeeded in reducing the mortality from 70 to under 40—nearly half. In his opinion the introduction of Chinese had also been one of the means contributing to this admirable result. The Chinese mortality was very much lower even than the improved result obtained among the Kaffirs.

(viii.) TRANSVAAL OPINION.

Mr. Lyttelton then touched on the question of opinion in the Transvaal on the Ordinance. After showing that at first they were adverse to the introduction of the Chinese, but that:—

Among the Boer farmers the pressure for labour was becoming very acute, and a great change of opinion had taken place. The present Government believed that the opinion of the Transvaal was enormously in favour of this change. He asked the House to note the position of Mr. Quinn. Mr. Quinn, a worthy and zealous opponent, now said that people were

content with the Chinese Ordinance, and that so far as he was concerned it was finished.

The Cost.

It was one of the accusations of the Radical Party that there was no shortage of native labour, and that the mine owners only demanded Chinese because they wanted to get labour to undercut the Kaffirs. How absurd is this charge is easily proved:—

“It is estimated that the average permanent cost of obtaining Kaffirs amounts, in the period of three years, the terms of the Chinese contracts, to £10 15s. a head.”—*Cd.* 2401, page 68.

On the other hand the expenses incurred for the importation of a single coolie amount to £16 11s. 3d.

The Blue-book continues:—

“It is clear, therefore, that so far as the cost of recruiting is concerned, the balance of advantage is entirely with the Kaffir, and even when the Chinaman has arrived on the Rand, he is not cheaper to maintain but dearer. It is found that whereas the former costs on an average 53d. to feed per day, the expense of feeding a Chinaman averages 11d., or very nearly double. Nor is there any intention, or indeed any possibility, of recouping this extra expense by paying the Chinaman for his work at a lower rate than the Kaffir.”—Page 68.

These figures prove beyond the shadow of a doubt that Chinese labour is not cheaper than native labour. Is it likely, therefore, that if plenty of native labour could have been obtained, the mine owners would have been so foolish as to have gone to the expense of getting the very much more expensive Chinese?

The Radical party have never accused the mine owners of a lack of astuteness.

The Disturbances.

The Radicals have made much out of the accounts that have been telegraphed from time to time of the disturbances that have taken place in the mines. But similar disturbances always have occurred from time to time in the Kaffir compounds. The majority of these disturbances have been much exaggerated. For the most part they have arisen from misunderstanding.

Mr. Evans, the superintendent of foreign labour, who, for nearly 20 years, has been closely in touch with the Chinese in the Straits Settlements, says:—

“The experience gained from the large numbers now in the country confirms the opinion I have always expressed, viz., the larger the number in the country the less the likelihood of disturbances breaking out over trivial matters. With a large number in the country, the new comers, on arrival, find themselves amongst their compatriots and friends. They at once inquire from them and are assured that the place is all right. And then, when the cooking goes wrong, or bread runs short, instead of at once rioting, as they did in the early days, they consult the earlier arrivals and understand that it is only an accident.”—*Cd.* 2401, page 64.

And again, he says:—

“There have been disturbances, and no doubt there always will be troubles, but I am convinced that the larger the number of Chinese on

the Rand, the fewer will be the riots, which have been generally due to the ignorance and nervousness of the Chinese on finding themselves in a strange country with none of their own countrymen about them. The freedom allowed to those labourers—notwithstanding the cry of 'slavery' raised by those who were unaware of the facts—is a great safeguard against serious disturbances, for it allows the man who thinks he has a grievance to go and compare notes with his friends on neighbouring mines, and to discover that after all his grievance is merely a misunderstanding."—Cd. 2401, page 84.

How the Chinese come.

It will, perhaps, be useful to give here a short sketch of the manner in which the Chinese get to the mines.

There are at present three emigration officers in China, stationed at Hong-Kong, Chinwangtao, near Tientsin, and Chifu. These three officers have all had experience in dealing with Chinese. Their duty is to make sure that every labourer who goes to the Agent does so of his own free will. After he has thoroughly understood the terms of the indenture or contract, they have also to see that the ships are suitable for their purpose. On arriving at the depot, the labourer has to undergo a preliminary medical examination. Those who pass the doctor have their names and addresses taken, and they are photographed. The Agent, either personally or by one of his writers, gives an explanation of the contract and answers any questions put by the coolies. Copies of the contract in Chinese are posted up and distributed amongst them. Before they set sail the contract is once more read to them and they are asked by the Agent personally if they are willing to go on those terms, and if they express themselves as willing they make their mark on the contract sheet opposite their name. They then have a bath, they receive a new suit of clothes, blanket, hat, &c., and they are again medically examined.

The cashier makes them a money advance; they get a metal badge bearing their number, and they are ready to go on board ship.

On their arrival at Durban, they are accommodated in a spacious depot until the preliminaries are completed. The train which takes them to the mine consists of ordinary third-class carriages, open from end to end, still to be seen on some of the English railways. The trains are lighted throughout with electricity and drinking water is supplied in each carriage.

At Pietermaritzburg, dinner; Estcourt, supper; and at Standerton, breakfast is served on the train. The refreshment contractors' attendants go down the platform with a can of rice, a mess-kid of meat and vegetables, and one of potatoes for each compartment. A big can of tea and a loaf of bread is added.

Mr. Evans says:—

"The meals are well cooked and nicely served, are very appetising and thoroughly appreciated."—Cd. 2401, page 45.

The train in nearly every case runs on to the mine siding, and the labourers are detained, not infrequently within a few yards of the compound.

The Compounds.

The compounds, in the minds of the Radicals, resemble nothing more than a prison. But, with the following account by Mr. Evans before

them, we are afraid that they found their ideas receiving a rude shock:—

"The accommodation provided for these men is excellent. The majority of them are accommodated in buildings specially erected for them since my arrival on the Rand. These new rooms are built of brick, have large sash windows giving light and air, are lofty with covered ventilators along the roof and air holes in the walls; are provided with stoves and with special ventilating stove pipes; are lighted by electricity and have impervious floors. The sleeping bunks are, as a rule, in two tiers arranged along the two side walls of each room. The best type of room gives accommodation for about 40 labourers, allowing 200 cubic feet for each man.

"These rooms are arranged so as to form an enclosed space, commonly known as the 'compound,' in the centre of which stands the large kitchen where all the cooking is done by steam, the large staff of cooks having been selected in China and sent down here for this special work. Beside the kitchen is a big bath house with granolithic floor, supplied with numerous tubs to which hot and cold water is laid on. Here the labourers bathe and wash their clothes, and it is rare to find the room unoccupied. In many compounds a huge dining hall—to seat from 500 to 1,000 men—is a prominent feature, though the necessity for or the advantage of this is still a matter of discussion. . . .

"The compound itself is by no means a prison. It is closed by a big gate, but the gate is always open except at night, and the labourer is free to walk in and out just as he pleases. He is legally and practically allowed to go where he pleases on the mine premises, which, in some cases, extends to miles. He is warned by notices put up on boards at the mine limits, that he must go no further without a permit, yet he frequently goes on out of idle curiosity until stopped by a policeman.

"The labourers on each mine are looked after by a Chinese Controller, who, in most cases, speaks the language fluently, and is looked upon by the labourers as their friend and adviser. In the hospitals, which are kept for Chinese exclusively on each mine, the coolies are attended by Chinese trained medical assistants under a qualified European medical man. A European steward and dispenser is attached to many hospitals."—Cd. 2401, page 84.

Of their treatment generally, Mr. Evans says:—

"I am of opinion that the arrangements for the accommodation of the Chinese labourers are sufficient and suitable. They are in every case superior to what the labourers are accustomed to in China. Everything that can be done for their comfort and health is done."—Page 44.

The Cry of "Slavery."

We very much doubt whether any party cry has been so unscrupulously engineered as that of "slavery" in South Africa. But the truth comes out in the end, and the Radicals must have felt very sore as their various mis-statements were brought to light. Mr. Evans says:—

"The cry of 'slavery' has touched me personally. I have for over 20 years been a member of the Civil Service of the Straits Settlements and for the greater part of that time I have been closely in touch with the Chinese of the Colony. I submit that the record of my service in that Colony, and the trust that the Chinese of that Colony have in my fair dealing, is such as to utterly refute the slightest suspicion of anything approaching 'slavery' in any undertaking controlled by me. The labourers are as free as any man under an agreement can be. They may terminate their agreement at any time on refunding the expense of bringing

them here and taking them back again, and are not in any way liable, if by so doing, they utterly disorganise the work of the mine. They are looked after when sick . . . and if so sick that they have become permanently incapacitated for work, are sent back to their homes at the expense of the employer."—Cd. 2401, page 85.

Unskilled White Workers.

A communication from Lord Milner in Cd. 2401 dealt once more with the question of unskilled white labour. He pointed out that towards the close of the war:—

"A genuine effort was made by the mining companies to induce the unemployed white population to accept service as unskilled labourers on the mines, at a wage averaging roughly 10s. per diem.

"For a time a large number of Europeans—chiefly ex-irregulars—worked on these terms.

"However, the employment of white persons on unskilled work at the low wage mentioned did not, on the whole, prove satisfactory, as it was found that the greater number of these employees left the mines after working for only a short period, in order to take employment of a more congenial and usually of a more lucrative nature elsewhere."—Page 77.

Chinese Vices.

We have heard much from the Radical party of the vices of the Chinese.

But the Blue-book (Cd. 2401) directly contradicts the charges levelled against the Chinese labourers by the Radicals.

Mr. Evans says:—

"These Chinese labourers are no danger to the peace or welfare of the Transvaal."—Page 65.

And he says again, on another page:—

"There is no question as to the success of the scheme. . . . The men work well; they are amenable to discipline; they have no particular vices which would make them a danger to the country."—Page 64.

Prosperity of the Country.

Lord Milner says:—

"The great advantage, which the opening of the Chinese labour market has brought to the mines, and to the whole country, is the fact that the assurance of a sufficient and certain supply of labour will enable the mining industry to adopt a definite policy of progression. Money will never be forthcoming to develop the untouched riches of South Africa if the future labour supply is to be limited in extent or uncertain in its continuance.

It is almost a common-place, to one who knows the economic conditions of South Africa, to repeat that, while the prosperity of the whole country cannot permanently depend upon its mines, yet it is upon their well-being that it will be founded. Fortunately there is now little doubt that China can supply an amount of unskilled labour which will enable the mining industry to be steadily developed."—Cd. 2401, Page 69.

Chinese Deserters.

Mr. Lyttelton's letter to Dr. Macnamara, M.P., which is published in the *Times*, 14th October, 1905, is a useful contribution to the Chinese labour dispute. Dr. Macnamara, writing to Mr. Lyttelton, under date 16th September, says:—

"From to-day's papers I see that the Legislative Council of the Transvaal passed, on September 13th, an amendment of the Chinese Labour Ordinance empowering whites to arrest coolies found wandering outside the Witwatersrand area, with a reward of £1 for each Chinaman arrested plus expenses."

And he asks:—

"(1) Is this so; (2) Can this amendment of the Ordinance become operative until the sanction of the Crown has been given; and (3) Do you contemplate recommending that such sanction be given or withheld before Parliament has had an opportunity of discussing this or any other change in the Ordinance?"

Mr. Lyttelton's answer is as follows:—

"I am informed that the amendment to which you refer was carried in committee against the Government vote, but that at the report stage the amendment was thrown out and the original clause, with slight modifications, was carried. It thus appears that no reward is to be paid for the arrest of Chinese, but out of pocket expenses will be refunded. I have to add that the Governor has assented to the Ordinance in question, and that it has consequently come into operation. I see no reason to postpone the operation of the Ordinance until Parliament meets."

Mr. Boland's Charges.

Mr. C. H. Norman, writing from 4, Hyde Park Mansions, London, N.W., on 9th December, 1905, says:—

"It may be of interest to your readers to know that I have received to-day the following letter from Mr. Lyttelton:—'Downing Street, December 8th, 1905. Sir—(1) I am directed by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to inform you, with reference to the letter from this department of November 2nd, that a searching inquiry was directed by Mr. Lyttelton into certain allegations made by Mr. Boland on September 6th. The investigation is now concluded, but the full report of it has not reached England and Mr. Lyttelton has only as yet received by telegraph a summary account of its results. Mr. Lyttelton gathers from this that, while some of Mr. Boland's statements are inaccurate or exaggerated, others are well founded. (2) Mr. Lyttelton understands, however, that all corporal punishment inflicted by the orders of the mine managers has been wholly discontinued since last June, while a system of inspection and regulation has been instituted which, it is believed, will prevent all possibility of the recurrence of such practices. (3) Mr. Lyttelton has communicated with the Governor in regard to the prosecution of those who may have been shown to be guilty by the inquiry which has taken place. While the question of such prosecutions is yet pending it will be obviously impossible to publish the detailed report.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant, M. S. OMMANNEY.' The Colonial Secretary is to be congratulated on having put in motion the Public Prosecutor against those mine managers who have thought fit to maltreat the coolies committed to their care."—*Times*, 13th December, 1905.

Early Chinese Labour.

Our Dutch fellow-subjects in South Africa who have been agitating against the introduction of Chinese labour for the Transvaal gold mines seem to have overlooked the fact that it was first imported to the Cape as early as the seventeenth century by the General United Netherland Chartered East India Company. The first Dutch Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, Dr. Johan Anthony van Riebeeck, landed at Table Bay on the 18th of April, 1652, and on the 13th of the following month we find him writing as follows to the India Council in Batavia:—

"For keeping a dairy going, and so obtaining butter, milk, and cheese, a hundred Chinese or other industrious workmen, possessing a knowledge of cultivating Indian produce, would not be unwelcome. . . . The Chinamen might also make bricks and tiles and other earthenware, if they only bring tools with them. . . . If we had Chinese or other industrious men here to cultivate the soil, it is evident that, in course of time, the ships will be able to obtain all kinds of necessities, not only for the voyage, but for a long while, as the Chinese may burn arrack, the wash of which may be used to feed pigs."

The Council in Batavia replied, on the 24th of December, 1652:

"We have not been able to persuade any Chinese to leave their country for such a distant land, and with such uncertain prospects."

Later on, however, some Chinese malefactors were sent to the Cape from the Dutch Eastern possessions, for, on the 18th of October, 1664, we read that one of the Company's boats at Cape Town conveyed to the penal settlement on Robben Island, "a Chinese convict who is to serve out his time there, because yesterday he had greatly offended."

On the 20th of February, 1710, the Dutch Governor-General of India, His Excellency J. van Hoon, while on a visit to the Cape, extended a free pardon to four Chinese convicts there, who were employed as slaves by the Dutch East India Company at Cape Town; and on the 28th of the same month, permission was granted—

"To the Christian Chinaman and burgher here, Abraham de Vyf, to leave for Batavia with his wife and children, in one or two years' time as soon as he has wound up his affairs."

On 31st December, 1731, the death is recorded at Cape Town of Tansanko, a Chinese convict and slave; on 12th July, 1732, the Chinaman Tantanko was sentenced to be hanged for housebreaking (this sentence was duly executed); and another Chinese convict, named Chiatonko, died during the month of November, in the same year.

All these instances are to be found in the Dutch archives of the Cape of Good Hope; and it is interesting to learn that even in those early days a Chinaman had embraced the Christian religion, been baptized under a Dutch name, and admitted as a freeman and burgher of the Cape under the Dutch Government.

It is still more noteworthy, in view of the present outcry against the introduction of Chinese labour to South Africa, to remember that practically the first thing the earliest Dutch Governor of the Cape did after landing was to appeal to the higher authorities in Batavia for Chinese workmen. The fact should considerably surprise some of our Dutch friends in the Transvaal and elsewhere.

MR. BALFOUR ON CHINESE LABOUR.

Under cover of a letter from Mr. Herbert Samuel, M.P., a letter, signed by the Bishop of Hereford, Lord Carrington, Mr. Burt, M.P., Dr. Macnamara, M.P., and other opponents of Chinese labour, has been sent to Mr. Balfour. In this letter the opinion is expressed:—

"That the time has come, not only for preventing further increase of the numbers of Chinese employed, but for the ending of the experiment."
—*Times*, 24th November.

To this communication Mr. Balfour has returned the following answer:—

"10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W., Nov. 22nd, 1905.

"Dear Mr. Samuel,—I have received your letter of the 20th inst., enclosing a memorial in which is expressed the opinion that the time has come not only for preventing further increase of Chinese employed in the Transvaal, but for ending the experiment.

"In justification of this recommendation you refer to the figures for conviction for desertion, and to the number sent to prison for all offences, as given in a Transvaal official return which was presented to the Legislative Council at the beginning of September.

Crime and Desertion.

"I would, however, point out that, in presenting these returns, the Attorney-General, Sir Richard Solomon, stated that:—

'Since the importation of these Chinese labourers VERY FEW SERIOUS CRIMES had been committed by labourers up to July 31st, 1905; the returns showed that the number of labourers who had committed offences for which a punishment exceeding six months' imprisonment had been passed was about ONE-SEVENTH OF 1 PER CENT. OF THE LABOUR POPULATION; and he thought it was only reasonable to conclude from these figures that THE LARGE MAJORITY OF THOSE LABOURERS WERE LAW-ABIDING AND EASILY MANAGED.'

"With regard to the number of wandering Chinamen, I understand that on September 3rd, the day on which the Attorney-General spoke, out of 45,000 coolies only 275, or 11-18ths of 1 per cent., were found to be absent, and of this number 129 had been reported as found and accounted for within five days.

Not to come to an End.

"There is nothing in the condition of things revealed by these figures to induce the Government to reverse a policy which was recommended by an overwhelming majority in the Transvaal Legislative Council, with the approval of the great bulk of the white population.

"The primary object of that policy was to supply the labour necessary for working the mining and other industries of the Transvaal. You appear to suppose that this argument has lost its force because the number of Kaffir labourers in the mines has increased to the level at which it stood before the war. Even now, however, in spite of this increase, and in spite of the introduction of Chinese coolies, the number of unskilled workmen available has not reached the point at which, in the opinion of the Transvaal Labour Commission, it must stand if the mines were to be worked to the best advantage.

Unskilled White Labour.

"I notice with satisfaction that you give no countenance to the foolish, but persistent, delusion which assumes the readiness of the white working man to fill the gaps which may occur in the ranks of the black working man. He will do nothing of the kind. And those (if such there be) who preach the doctrine that in the South African mines is to be found an opening for the unskilled labourer now asking for employment in this country are, knowingly or unknowingly, acting no better part than that of the demagogue.

Work for more Whites.

"The introduction of Chinese has, indeed, some effect on our home labour market; but it is precisely the opposite of that which its critics suppose. It does not exclude the unskilled white labourer from the mines, for under no circumstances would he consent to be included. **But it does increase the demand for the skilled foreman, for his chance of employment depends upon the number of men requiring superintendence—in other words, upon the amount of native and coolie labour available for the principal industry of the country.** I observe that this is not denied in your letter, and that you content yourself with stating that the number of white men engaged has not increased *proportionately* to the total increase in unskilled labour. This may be true; but **the absolute increase of white labour on the Witwatersrand mines is very large, amounting to over 5,000 since the first arrival of the Chinese, and its estimated remuneration exceeds a million a year.** No such increase could possibly have taken place had the mines been obliged to rely on Kaffir labour alone.

The "Slavery" Cry.

"In a few months' time the Transvaal Constitution will be in operation; and the white population will have an adequate machinery for expressing their views. Should those views be in harmony with the opinion expressed in your letter, I shall gladly agree to abandon what, in the speech from which you quote, I rightly describe as an experiment. Should they, on the other hand, be favourable to the legislation now in force, **I do not think they ought to be overruled from Downing Street. Those who regard the terms on which the Chinese workman is engaged**

as equivalent to slavery are, I admit, in a different position, and cannot be expected to take this view. They are bound to put an end to a system which, in their judgment, is inconsistent with national morality, and to do so whether the colony be willing or unwilling. But their task will be a serious one, and it will not be confined to the Transvaal. **There is no distinction of principle between the legal status of the indentured Asiatic labourer in that colony and his condition in other colonies.** Nay, there is no distinction between his *status* and that of the native African miner, except that which is directly due to the greater distance which has to be traversed before he reaches his place of work.

"The system of indentured labour, whether coolie or native, must therefore be treated as a whole; and, if indeed, those critics be right who identify it with slavery, **it must ruthlessly be extirpated from every colony where it has insidiously taken its root.** This, however, is not the view of his Majesty's present Government; and I trust that, on the acceptance of official responsibility, it will cease to be the view of any who may hereafter succeed them.

"Pray believe me, yours sincerely,

"ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

—Times, 24th November, 1905.

RADICALS AND THE CHINESE.

What will be done?

What will the Radicals do with the Chinese in the Transvaal? Will they send the unskilled Chinese labourers back to their own country, and so put out of work 5,000 skilled whites? Or will they acknowledge that their "slavery" agitation was only a political one, and leave things to remain as they are.

The first course would be disastrous; the second dishonest. On the whole, we should prefer a dishonest policy to one full of disaster for the Transvaal.

Curious Omissions.

A comparison of recent documents with those of the past is interesting. In 1904, the National Liberal Federation at their conference at Manchester protested:—

"Against the Ordinance permitting the introduction of indentured Chinese labour into the Transvaal, and . . . places on record its conviction that the proposal is inconsistent with the Common Law of England, destructive of the love of liberty, inimical to the true interests of South Africa, and likely to weaken the bond of union between the several portions of the Empire."

In 1905 we searched through the resolutions passed by the conference at Newcastle, but a Chinese labour resolution was not to be found.

Then, too, it will be remembered that in Lord Spencer's manifesto (which after all was not a manifesto, but only "the best equivalent to a speech which it was in his power to make") it was stated that "slavery" should be allowed to continue until "the obligation of existing contracts has come to an end."

We refrain from commenting on the moral condition of a party that can acquiesce for some time in a situation which they denounce as "slavery."

Mr. Herbert Gladstone's programme, as detailed at Leeds on 7th February, 1905, went even a step further in this policy of condonation, and anticipating the Newcastle Conference, omitted any mention of Chinese labour!

Whilst at Newcastle in his speech to the National Liberal Federation Sir Henry said nothing whatever about the subject.

"A Domestic Matter."

First let us deal with C.-B. That estimable gentleman in the House of Commons said:—

"I base myself entirely, as far as I am concerned, on the opinion of the community in which this thing exists; and I say that if the inhabitants of the Transvaal, having full opportunity of expressing their opinion, deliberately endorse the policy which has been adopted, I, FOR ONE, SHOULD NOT BE DISPOSED TO INTERFERE WITH THEM IN THAT DECISION."

—*Times*, 28th July, 1905.

Having thus under a certain condition sanctioned what the *Daily News* describes as a "hideous system," C.-B. proceeded:—

"If they have responsible government, we shall cease to be responsible. It should be no part, I think, of the business of the Imperial Government to interfere with their action in such a DOMESTIC MATTER."—*Times*, 28th July, 1905.

So all this moral indignation on the part of the Radical speakers and writers has been about a "DOMESTIC MATTER," concerning which C.-B. says there should be no interference when the Transvaal has responsible government.

The *Westminster Gazette* expressed itself in a similar way:—

"We shall find it there, and the entire community more or less dependent on it, and, as Mr. Lyttelton warns us, probably demanding through its Representative Assembly that it shall not be withdrawn. . . THE GODS THEMSELVES CANNOT UNDO WHAT HAS BEEN DONE."—28th July, 1905.

"With absolute Authority."

The Radical rank and file apparently did not appreciate the inevitable backing down of their leaders from an intolerable position. So "H. W. M." had to be called in to explain in the columns of the *Daily News* that what C.-B. said must not be taken to mean what everybody takes it to mean.

With "absolute authority" we are to understand that what C.-B. meant was generally as follows:—

"The Labour Ordinance was, after all, an act of the Imperial Power, and what it did it can undo. It concluded the treaty with China which made it possible. Its agents have been the recruiting sergeants of the mine-owners.

"It is incredible that under a Liberal Government this relationship can continue. EXISTING CONTRACTS WILL, NO DOUBT, BE RESPECTED, so that, as a matter of form, it may be a question not of repealing the Ordinance so much as of letting it lapse. . . What he meant, and all that he meant, was that the definite appeal would be made the moment that responsible Government is set up, against the decision of Lord Milner and the Rand mine-owners, to the permanent population of the Transvaal."—*Daily News*, 29th July, 1905.

If that is what C.-B. meant we can only ask "Why didn't he say so?"

"With some Authority."

On Monday, 31st July, 1905, the *Daily News* returned to the subject, and in a long leader discussed "the future of Chinese labour." But as the writer only speaks with "some authority," as compared with Mr. Massingham's "absolute authority," we take it that his views are not so much to be valued as an expression of weighty opinion.

The leader expressed the very laudable opinion that it is:—

"Entirely desirable that the position of all parties should be made clear on this matter."—31st July, 1905.

With that opinion we concur and we can only wish that the writer had been more successful in attaining the end in view. He said:—

"The announcement made by the Liberal leader on the question—and we speak here with some authority—was to the effect that the fate of this Ordinance must be decided by that authority which framed it. . . . The evil that the Imperial Government had effected the Imperial Government will undo."—31st July, 1905.

With all due respect to the "authority" we defy any one to read that opinion in the extracts we have given from C.-B.'s speech. Indeed, the plain sense is directly to the contrary.

The "Daily News" Version.

But we go on to read that:—

"There will be no more importation of Chinese into South Africa. There will be no more use of Imperial officers as recruiting agents for the mine-owners. The treaty with China will be denounced. . . . As speedily as may be, on the termination of their contracts, the coolies at present in the Transvaal will be returned to their own land."—*Daily News*, 31st July, 1905.

Then we read that:—

"The responsible government in that unhappy land—when responsible government comes—will start unhandicapped by the criminal folly of a system thrust upon them."—*Daily News*, 31st July, 1905.

Here there seems to be a discrepancy. For, on Mr. Massingham's "absolute authority," we learn that so far from the responsible government starting "unhandicapped," it is to be thrown into a whirlpool of discussion and agitation by a "definite appeal," "the moment" it is set up "against the decision of Lord Milner."

This policy, we learn from the *Daily News*, would create "a situation of some difficulty" if the Transvaal, after responsible government had been granted, still wanted Chinese labour. Just so. And that brings us back to the very bed-rock which the explanations of the *Daily News* with their "absolute authority" and "some authority" cannot shake.

It is this. That, in the above event taking place, C.-B. would wash his hands of the whole affair, and declare, as he declared in the House of Commons, that the "hideous system" of "slavery under the Union Jack" is purely a "domestic affair."

Radical Revolt.

The efforts of "H. W. M." and other estimable gentlemen to explain away C.-B.'s meaning were not very successful. Even "H. W. M." was forced to admit that there was "a little misunderstanding."

A correspondent, in the *Daily News* of 1st August, 1905, signing himself "A Member of the Eighty Club," wrote that:—

"Unless it is clear that Liberalism is to repeal the Chinese Ordinance as soon as it gets a chance, I, for one, shall take no interest in the coming election, and I think hundreds of others will take the same view.

"The party demands from C.-B. a full statement of what a Liberal Government will do with regard to this wicked Ordinance."

The *British Weekly*, that organ of smug Radical Nonconformity, expressed similar opinions. C.-B.'s statement, it said, "has considerably disturbed the Liberal party." The article continued:—

"The whole question is whether Chinese labour in South Africa, as carried on at present, is a form of slavery. If it is a form of slavery then it cannot be permitted, no matter what the colony may decide."—*British Weekly*, 3rd August, 1905.

The "IF" came well from an organ that had been denouncing it as "slavery" for months past with all the vast vocabulary of violence at its command. It continued with a warning to the Radical leaders:—

"We cannot conceive anything that would so disastrously affect the fortunes of Liberalism as the faintest shadow of wavering upon this essential point."

C.-B. on himself.

Mr. Mackarness, who was known as a rabid pro-Boer during the war, and is one of the most emphatic denouncers of "slavery," wrote to C.-B. on the subject. It cannot be said that Mr. Mackarness was very successful, as C.-B. cleverly dodged the questions.

This is the correspondence, as taken from the *Daily News*, 2nd August, 1905:—

"6, Crown Office Row, Temple, E.C.,

"July 29th, 1905.

"DEAR SIR HENRY,—An observation which you made in the House of Commons on Thursday to the effect that you would not interfere if the people of the Transvaal, when in possession of full self-government, should 'adopt the policy of Chinese labour,' has been represented as meaning that you did not feel the repugnance to the objectionable features of the existing Chinese Ordinance which is felt by the Liberal and Labour party throughout the country. I am sure this is not the case, and that you would not hesitate to do what was possible to prevent the perpetuation of the political and social evils which have resulted from this lamentable Ordinance

"Believe me to be, with much respect, yours very truly,

"FREDERIC MACKARNESS."

"House of Commons,

"July 31st, 1905.

"MY DEAR MACKARNESS.—I am much obliged for your letter. It is enough for me to say that I could not in any circumstances be a party to slavery in any form under the British flag, and I have never said anything to the contrary. I entertain as strongly as ever the objections to the Chinese Labour Ordinance.—Yours very truly,

"H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN."

The charming way in which C.-B. evades the point will be the admiration of all. Especially is it interesting as coming from one who is never tired of accusing Mr. Balfour of not speaking in plain language that Radicals can understand.

The Sequel.

"A member of the Eighty Club" pointed the moral in the *Daily News*. He wrote:—

"The question is not whether the Liberal Leader disapproves of slavery in any form, and retains his objection to the Chinese Labour Ordinance, but whether he will pledge himself now that, on his return to office, he will:—

- (1) Refuse to allow the assistance of the Foreign Office to the Rand recruiters in China;
- (2) Cancel the Ordinance as soon as it is possible to return to China those Chinese already in the Transvaal."

He continued with these words:—

"A direct declaration of intention on these two points is urgent and should present no difficulty if 'C.-B.' is as earnest on this subject as the party undoubtedly is."—*Daily News*, 4th August, 1905.

We have no doubt that all those Radicals who have compromised themselves by saying that a Radical Government will do away with what they are pleased to call "slavery" in the Transvaal, are still anxiously awaiting C.-B.'s "direct declaration."

Radicals Wriggle.

A circular from the National Liberal Federation informs us that one of the issues at the General Election is to be "the question of Chinese labour." Sir Edward Grey, at Manchester, on 13th October, 1905, said "he believed" it was "perfectly true" that a Radical Government "would stop the importation of Chinese labour into the Transvaal." Mr. Asquith contented himself with raging against the Ordinance. Mr. Herbert Gladstone wrote a letter in which he said:—

"I do not think there is any confusion of thought or purpose with regard to the employment of the Chinese in the Transvaal, still less do I think that any member of the Liberal party or of a future Liberal Government will become the tools of the Rand capitalists."—*Times*, 14th October, 1905.

That is, of course, beside the point. The country is not in the least concerned with knowing that the Radicals will not "become the tools of the Rand capitalists." Though on one occasion, we believe, the Radical

central organisation did not disdain to accept a campaign gift of £5,000 from the late Cecil Rhodes. When Mr. Gladstone says that he does not think there is any "confusion of thought or purpose" with regard to the Chinese, he entirely evades the point upon which the country wants information—the policy that composes the Radical "thought or purpose."

The letter, as a matter of fact, is of a similar type to the one sent by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman to Mr. Mackarness, which we have already quoted.

C.-B. at Portsmouth.

Notwithstanding the declarations of Lord Crewe, Mr. Herbert Gladstone and other Radicals, that their party were not going to have a programme at any price, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman at Portsmouth was goaded into making a sort of declaration.

More significant than what he said was what he left out. There was an entire omission of reference to "Chinese slavery." Sir Henry obviously sticks to what he said in the House of Commons on 27th July last:—"Slavery" is to him "a domestic matter," the decision of which must be left to the people of the Transvaal with whom he "should not be disposed to interfere." Is there any need to express the disgust which will be felt at such a cowardly attitude? Willing to wound the Conservative party by crying out "slavery," yet afraid to do away with it. That is the position the Radicals have got to take up.

Mr. H. Gladstone speaks.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone is another exponent of the Radical wriggle out of the Chinese labour difficulty. Speaking at Leeds, he said:—

"Chinese labour would have to be dealt with. Chinese labour was a deadly mistake. The question was, if a Liberal Government came in, what had it to do? In the first place, it was a question largely for the people of South Africa themselves; they should be consulted; but, further, if conditions of slavery were found to exist, it would be a stain on the Imperial Government if those conditions were allowed to continue."—*Times*, 9th November, 1905.

Observe the weakness of the Radical argument. Chinese labour is "a deadly mistake," but it is not to be done away with without the "people of South Africa" being "consulted." "Deadly mistake" though it may be, yet the Radicals would not abolish it unless the Transvaal also agreed. It is a "question largely for the people of South Africa themselves," yet for many months Radicals have put it in the front of their attacks on the Government.

Mr. H. Gladstone says "if slavery were found to exist," yet Radical speakers and papers with one voice have asserted that it is "slavery"! Radicals are getting on very thin ice when dealing with Chinese labour.

An Election Dodge.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, speaking at the Albert Hall, on 21st December, 1905, on Colonial affairs, paid a tribute to Conservative and Unionist administration. There was, he said, "No sign of tension or friction, everything is smooth, save the one ruffled spot—South Africa."

As for "the one ruffled spot," Sir Henry's conscience should have pricked him. If one party more than another is responsible for unrest in South Africa, it is the Radical party.

The most important part of Sir Henry's speech was that referring to Chinese labour. Conscious that the Radicals had committed themselves, something had to be done—and that immediately.

Sir Henry's statement was as follows:—

"One conclusion his Majesty's Government has arrived at, and it is this—to stop forthwith, as far as it is practicable to do it forthwith—the recruitment and embarkation of coolies in China . . . the recruitment and embarkation of coolies in China and their importation into South Africa; and instructions have been given to that effect."—*Times*, 22nd December, 1905.

But this statement, as will be seen from Lord Elgin's despatch which we give elsewhere, is subject to considerable limitations. Dr. Macnamara, later in the evening, said: "He noted with profound thankfulness that the meaning of the Prime Minister's statement that night was that this shameful blot would be wiped off for ever." If that was the general construction put upon the Prime Minister's words, we can only suppose that the morning, with Lord Elgin's despatch, brought disillusionment, and that Dr. Macnamara's "profound thankfulness" considerably abated.

The Radicals have so committed themselves against Chinese labour that, short of doing nothing at all, we do not see that they could well have done less. The Government reserve "their opinion and freedom of action in the whole matter" (neither their "opinion" nor their "freedom of action" was at all "reserved" whilst they were in opposition), but have decided:—

"That recruiting, embarkation and importation of Chinese coolies shall be arrested pending a decision as to the grant of responsible government to the Colony."

This is the first step in the Radical shuffle. "Slavery under the Union Jack" has served its purpose as a vote-catching cry, and the Radicals have got to proceed along cautious lines where the procedure of swallowing their own words will not be too hasty.

Meanwhile, this point of Radical hypocrisy stands out clearly: that they are willing to let what they call "slavery" continue in the Transvaal until that Colony, at an unknown date, gets "responsible government."

C.B. has already told us what lines he intends to follow then. Speaking in the House of Commons on 27th July, 1905, as we have already mentioned, he said:—

"I base myself entirely, as far as I am concerned, on the opinion of the community in which this thing exists; and I say that if the inhabitants of the Transvaal, having full opportunities of expressing their opinion, deliberately endorse the policy which has been adopted, I, FOR ONE, SHOULD NOT BE DISPOSED TO INTERFERE WITH THEM IN THAT DECISION."

And he continued:—

"If they have responsible government, we shall cease to be responsible. It should be no part, I think, of the business of the Imperial Government

to interfere with their action in such a DOMESTIC MATTER."—*Times*, 28th July, 1905.

We hope every elector will have this shameless shuffle put before him. Radicals are going to leave it to the people of the Transvaal to say whether, what Radicals call a system of "slavery," shall or shall not continue. If the Transvaal decides that it shall continue (nobody really thinks the majority will decide otherwise), Radicals will be content then to agree to "slavery under the Union Jack," saying it is "a domestic matter!" What worse example of political insincerity can be found.

LORD ELGIN'S DESPATCH.

The Colonial Office issued on 21st December, 1905, the following telegram "from the Earl of Elgin to Governor the Earl of Selborne," which was despatched the same day:—

"Referring to my telegram of yesterday. In coming to their decision, his Majesty's Government had before them and took into consideration the following circumstances and facts:

"From the beginning the importation of Chinese labour was regarded as an experiment, and was accepted by his Majesty's late Government as necessary to meet a serious shortage of labour. Chinese labour was permitted as a supplement to, not as a substitute for, Kaffir labour, and it was necessary for his Majesty's Government to be assured that the numbers introduced were within the powers of supervision and control of the Transvaal Government. Mr. Lyttelton on more than one occasion desired to be specifically assured on this point. The report of Mr. Evans, the late superintendent of foreign labour, dated in February, and published to Parliament, stated that about 55,000 would apparently complete the requirements of the mines which have decided to work with Chinese labour, and that this number would arrive by the end of July or August. After that an occasional ship would suffice, unless circumstances altered or the unforeseen occurred.

"On your arrival you found, on inquiring into matters, that a new system required to be introduced for the better control of the labourers, under which summary jurisdiction could be exercised by the superintendent and a larger number of inspectors who are conversant with the Chinese language.

"An amending Ordinance was accordingly passed, with Mr. Lyttelton's approval, giving the necessary magisterial powers to the superintendent and inspectors. Mr. Lyttelton has impressed the need for special caution in working the new system in regard to the deduction of fines from wages and in regard to the collective fine. The new arrangement, which came into force after 19th September, is, therefore, on its trial, and cannot be pronounced to be a full success until further time has elapsed and its administration tested.

"Uneasiness was caused on the Witwatersrand by the lawless acts of certain wandering bodies of Chinese in August and September; these occurrences caused a Boer deputation, with General Botha at its head, to wait upon Sir Arthur Lawley, and to represent that the Chinese should be sent back to their native country.

"Sir A. Lawley, in reply to the deputation, assured them that the Government had taken steps to exercise sufficient control, and pointed out that the repatriation of the Chinese would bring about a grave financial and commercial crisis.

"I understand that you are fully satisfied that there is no reason to apprehend any serious trouble in the future arising from desertions and lawless acts.

"But it is clear that there are indications of local opposition to the importation.

"The real wishes of the majority of the inhabitants of the Transvaal in regard to the importation, or as to any limitations or restrictions by which it should be confined, have not yet been authoritatively expressed, and cannot be ascertained until an elective Legislature has been called together.

"Native labour has largely increased since January, 1904, when it was represented to his Majesty's late Government that a grave financial crisis would ensue unless immediate relief was afforded by Chinese labour. The numbers then were 75,000, and are now 96,000, practically on a level with the numbers in 1899, at the time of maximum gold production before the war took place. In addition there are now on the Rand about 48,000 Chinese.

"While reserving their opinion and freedom of action in the whole matter, his Majesty's Government consider, as I telegraphed to you yesterday, that the experiment of the introduction of Chinese labourers should not be extended further until they can learn the opinion of the Colony through an elected and really representative Legislature, and they have accordingly decided that recruiting, embarkation, and importation of Chinese coolies shall be arrested pending a decision as to the grant of responsible government to the Colony. They are not prepared, in all the circumstances, to be responsible for further importation.

"His Majesty's Government trust that the inhabitants of the Transvaal will recognise that they have felt it their duty to take this step deliberately, and after a careful review of the situation."

TESTIMONY AGAINST RADICAL CHARGES.

What a Compound is.

We have heard a lot from the Radicals about the compound the Chinese "slaves" are kept in. They said it was a cage at first and hinted that iron bars and locked gates were very numerous.

They did not insist on this when it was pointed out how very untrue such a description was. They dropped all details, and let it be known that compounds were prison walls to Chinese "slaves."

Varieties of Rot.

Let us find out what a compound is. The *Scotsman*, on 3rd April, 1905, published an account of a visit to a compound by a correspondent in Johannesburg.

First, like all South Africans, he jumps on our Radical friends.

"In due time the compounds were built, and a lot of ignorant and silly talk indulged in about them by people at home who simply would not talk to facts. They talked of Chinese serfdom, slavery, and other varieties of rot. I had not been through a compound until Saturday, 18th February, and I am going to tell you just what I saw and what I thought."

The Dining Room.

The party went to the dining room first. Some 200 Chinese were there sitting at tables in messes of 10 to 16.

"Each mess had a fish kettle-like dish of meat stew, a dish of rice and a pot of tea. From these mess dishes each coolie had his supply into his own dishes—tins for the stew and porcelain bowls for rice and tea."

Everything in the dining hall was, he says, "scrupulously clean."

The Kitchen.

Next the kitchen claimed their attention. Everything was cooked by steam in twelve double cauldrons or coppers. He says:—

"Everything is thus cooked by steam, and I imagine a lot of cooks both here and at home would be quite in love with steam cooking; for there's no dirt from coal, and no chance of burning the food."

In the stores there were:—

"Rice, mealie meal, flour, all sorts of vegetables, and tea . . . in abundance."

Bath-room and Sleeping-rooms.

Passing on they came to the bath-rooms. "Hot and cold water" are provided from pipes:—

"Some three feet from the ground area all round a building measuring about 30 ft. by 20 ft., at regular intervals, there are small pipes with taps, so as to run the water into wooden tubs placed under the taps. The Chinaman prefers to step into the tub, and with his hands lave the water over his body."

They then had a look at the sleeping rooms:—

"The sleeping-rooms had two tiers of bunks, and were clean, light and airy. So far from the air space being insufficient, I thought there was rather too much airiness about the place."

"Clean, Fresh and Airy."

Here is the summing-up:—

"Everything in the compound was delightfully clean, fresh and airy, and I was agreeably surprised by the prevailing air of comfort."

"I JUST WISHED THAT SOME OF THOSE AT HOME WHO PRATE IN THEIR IGNORANCE OF CHINESE SLAVERY COULD HAVE ACCOMPANIED US OVER THE COMPOUND."

And so say all of us. It might have stopped them uttering any more abuse of Mr. Balfour and the Conservatives and Unionists for having permitted "slavery" in South Africa.

It is the Radicals who are the slaves—slaves to their own distorted imagination.

The Testimony of a South African Missionary.

In the *Contemporary Review* for March, 1901, the Rev. John S. Moffat, son of the famous African Missionary, Dr. Robert Moffat, and himself a Missionary and resident in South Africa from 1859 to 1896, writes:—

" . . . The carrying out of the system (i.e., the "compound" system) was on lines which made for the moral benefit of the workers. There are those who condemn the whole thing in no measured language as slavery, as a deep machination of the tyrannical "capitalist gang" to secure a supply of forced labour, as an infamous and degraded bondage into which thousands of unhappy and helpless natives are forced. This is the sort of language we hear used, in some instances by men who do not know what they are talking about in others, by men influenced by motives respecting which the less said the better

The Truth about the Compounds.

"He (the native) goes there of his own accord. . . . Now follow the labourers into the 'compound' as it is called. You find yourself in a huge enclosure. . . . Lurid pictures have been drawn of the condition of the native within the compound. What are the facts?

"To begin with he is well housed

"Cooking places are provided where the men prepare their food

"They can buy anything they want at the shop within the compound, anything—with one important exception, and that is alcoholic liquor. The prices of goods are regulated by convention with the mercantile public outside

"There is a practically unlimited supply of water and a large swimming bath.

"If a man gets ill, or is injured, there is a hospital and a doctor.

"There is a church, used by the ministers of four different denominations, who agree as to the respective hours on Sunday when their services shall be held

"What security have we that men will not be the victims of cruel abuses there is a Government functionary in Kimberley who is known as 'Protector of Natives' his position entitles him to know all that is going on in or outside of the compound that may affect the condition of any native

"Yet there are people so constituted that they cry out about the slavery of the Kimberley compounds

"I maintain unhesitatingly that the native who goes back from Kimberley, after a spell of labour in the compounds there, is a better man all round, in physique, in pocket, and in character, than the native who starts from exactly the same point, but spends his nights in the slums and goes back a degraded and besotted wreck of humanity

PROTEST FROM TRANSVAAL NONCONFORMIST MINISTERS.

On April 7th, 1904, the *Methodist Recorder* published the following protest of Nonconformist Ministers in the Transvaal against the imputations and mis-statements of Nonconformists and others in this country:—

"In view of the strong feeling being evinced in England with regard to the proposals to introduce Chinese into the Transvaal, and of the frequent use of the word 'slavery' in this connection, we desire to amplify the cable which was sent to the Free Church Council a few days ago. WE WISH TO POINT OUT TO OUR BRETHREN that throughout this controversy we have been careful to refrain from any expression of opinion as to the political and economic issues involved. We feel that these are matters beyond our province, and to be argued out by experts.

The Question of Necessity.

"We express now no opinion on the question whether the mines require such labour, or whether the supply of South African native labour is sufficient.

"Many, indeed the VAST MAJORITY OF OUR LAYMEN, MEMBERS OF OUR CHURCHES, EARNEST CHRISTIAN MEN, MEN ON WHOSE JUDGMENT WE HAVE LONG RELIED, AND OF WHOSE INTEGRITY WE HAVE NO SHADOW OF DOUBT, FEEL UTTERLY CONVINCED THAT SUCH IMPORTED LABOUR IS NEEDED AND DESIRABLE. On the other hand, some contend that the present impasse has been brought about by the subtle policy carried out by financial groups holding large interest here. In all fairness we ought to say that this view is held by comparatively few. On this point, too, we express no opinion.

The False Cry of "Slavery."

"BUT WE WISH TO POINT OUT TO OUR BRETHREN AT HOME that we are as keenly jealous of our nation's honour as they are, as strongly opposed to 'slavery,' and as eager and ready to resist wrong and champion the

cause of the weak; and their present attitude and language is a distressing and unwarranted reflection on us. We know something of the conditions of life in this country, we know a little as to the need for restrictions upon uncivilised or semi-civilised natives, and we have carefully and earnestly studied the proposed regulations governing the importation of Chinese. Having in full view the moral issues involved and the old traditions of our homeland and of our churches we declare our emphatic conviction that these regulations as now amended do not approximate to 'slavery' and that to use the word in this connection is a grave misuse of language.

The Necessity for the Regulations.

"The regulations are intended (1) to protect the Chinese from injustice on the part of the employers, and (2) to protect this community from the perils, moral and economic, of having such a number of Asiatics in our midst. No single Chinaman will leave his own country without full knowledge of the terms of his contract, and he will accept them voluntarily. Similar restrictions are, and have long been in force in South African and other British colonies. Their very stringency is demanded by the fear of moral risk and contamination, and is intended to reduce these risks to a minimum. Indeed without some such regulations we should feel compelled to oppose the importation of Chinese on moral grounds.

The Depression in the Transvaal.

"THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN THIS COLONY IS SUCH AS TO CAUSE MUCH POVERTY AND SUFFERING, AND THERE IS SEVERE DEPRESSION IN TRADE. We refuse, however, to find in this fact any reason for our approval of Chinese Labour. The moral principles that guide us are not affected by economic conditions which may, or may not, be artificially produced. Indeed some amongst us strongly condemn certain of the methods of those who have sought the introduction of Chinese. But we are convinced of the integrity of the Transvaal Government, we respect the conscientious opinions of our laymen, and we trust the solemn pledges of the employers. And, further, there has undoubtedly been a great reversal of public opinion on the Rand, on the general question.

Imputations which are Grossly Unjust.

"WE REG ONCE MORE THAT OUR BRETHREN AT HOME WILL REFRAIN FROM LANGUAGE WHICH IS EVIDENTLY BASED ON IMPERFECT INFORMATION, AND APPARENTLY INFLUENCED BY PARTY EXIGENCIES. We ask for their confidence and support in any measures we may feel impelled to take. We assure them that we are keenly alive to the dangers of a difficult situation. But we protest against the imputations conveyed in the language too commonly used, as being grossly unjust to these whom we represent.

AMOS BURNETT,
Wesleyan Chairman of the District, and Vice-President, Church Council.
JOHN C. HARRIS,
Congregational Minister, and Secretary, Church Council.
N. A. ROSS,
Presbyterian Minister and member of the Executive of Church Council.

Nonconformists bear Witness.

The Witwatersrand Church Council, composed of representatives of the Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Wesleyans, at a meeting at Johannesburg, on 5th March, 1904, passed the following resolution on the question of Chinese Labour:—

"That, while expressing no opinion on the economic questions involved, THIS MEETING STRONGLY DEPRECATES THE Free Church Council's AGITATION AGAINST CHINESE LABOUR, and thinks that fuller knowledge will modify its views regarding the conditions of service, which are voluntary, and similar to conditions which have long prevailed in South Africa. The meeting suggests that the Free Church Council's efforts should be directed to securing perfect freedom for Christian work among the Chinese."

Why should you oppose it? The Nonconformists on the spot know that the future prosperity of the country, that the openings for skilled white labour, all depend on a sufficient supply of unskilled labour in the mines.

Rev. J. Cliffe's Testimony.

The following is an extract from a letter from the Rev. J. Cliffe, of Durban, Secretary to the Natal District Congregational Union of South Africa, to the Rev. James Byers, Congregational Minister, of Longridge, near Preston. The Rev. J. Cliffe writes:—

"I have been to Johannesburg, the Golden City, visited the Chinese compounds, and seen Chinese at work in mines. All the talk about slavery is a mere figment of the imagination; I only wish the unskilled labourer at home was as well kept, cared for, and paid as the Chinese are. Some of the Chinese are making 3s. a day. With 1s. a day, his food, and sleeping accommodation, he is vastly better off than the working man at home on 25s. a week. SOUTH AFRICA IS NO COUNTRY FOR WHITE UNSKILLED LABOUR. The high cost of living and the needs of an Englishman place unskilled white labour outside the bounds of possibility. The country has so many peculiarities that to know it you must live in it."—*Standard*, 19th January, 1905.

A WESLEYAN MISSIONARY SPEAKS.

These extracts are taken from a speech made at Totnes on Wednesday, 16th November, 1904, by the Rev. C. E. Lowe, for over twenty years a missionary in South Africa, and the new Superintendent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for the Transvaal. He has also been the Superintendent of the Witwatersrand Gold Fields Mission. The extracts from Mr. Lowe's speech are taken from a report in the *Totnes Times* of 19th November.

The Free Church Resolution.

It will be remembered that in 1904 the Free Church Council in this country passed a resolution condemning Chinese Labour, and that the Free Church in the Transvaal suggested that with a little more knowledge of the subject the Free Church here would modify its views.

This is what Mr. Lowe has to say:—

"At one meeting he did feel warm at the aspersions cast on his missionary brethren at Johannesburg, because of a resolution they sent to

the Church Council in England. He had nothing to do with it, as he was not there; but he felt he was bound to defend their character and motive. When they went to Johannesburg THEY DID NOT DROP THEIR CONSCIENCES INTO THE SEA. There were at the Church Council meeting 83 members, and over 30 were ministers, and the resolution was carried with one dissentient. Did not their commonsense see that, if 82 Christian men voted for it, there was something in it which did not present itself to the people at home?

"They were not asleep on questions which affected the moral, spiritual and social well-being of the people, and had not been asleep in regard to the great Chinese Labour Question."

Why the Chinese are necessary.

The Radicals have all along said that the Chinese were not necessary. To this Mr. Lowe gives a direct denial.

"He had been asked to say why the Chinese were necessary. They were necessary because there were not enough natives to supply the labour market with unskilled labour. They were told they had fought the battle, and South Africa ought to be a place for Englishmen, and he said so too. But there was a class of labour that the mine-owners and others could not afford to pay skilled labour for, and UNTIL THE MINES COULD GET A SUFFICIENT QUANTITY OF UNSKILLED LABOUR THEY COULD NOT EMPLOY SKILLED LABOUR."

Work for More Whites.

Mr. Lowe gives ample confirmation of the fact that the introduction of Chinese unskilled labour has given work to more skilled whites.

"In one mine, where four months ago only two white men were working, there were nearly 400 white men, 80 of them married, and most of them going to get their families out. When they had unskilled labour there would be a field for skilled labourers of our own country—the artisan.—the man they wanted.

The Compounds.

"Then as to the compound system. If they changed the word 'compound' into 'barracks,' which they had at home, it was only the same thing. He had not an iota of interest in the question, but stated his facts as he had seen them in Johannesburg and the Transvaal for 20 years. He was not speaking hastily. The compound in Johannesburg would be infinitely better than the hovels the Chinese had in their own country.

"In Johannesburg, where they had Chinese and Kaffirs who came hundreds of miles to work, they required owners to provide them with some places where they would be safe.

"With regard to the Kaffir compounds, he had never been refused admission to preach in any compound in Johannesburg. Not only so, but none of his immediate helpers had been refused. He had in connection with the Witwatersrand Goldfields Mission nine bands of men who visited 36 compounds every Sunday, preaching the Gospel without any white man with them, and nobody interfered."

No Slavery.

Mr. Lowe then spoke most strongly against the cry of slavery that has been so industriously raised by the Radicals:—

"He had absolutely nothing to gain in this matter, but was sure that if they could get unskilled labour there would be work for skilled labour, and they and others would benefit.

"But he would say that God was his witness that if he thought there was any touch of slavery about it, anything wrong would never be justified by mere economic necessity."

The Man on the Spot.

Mr. Lowe concluded his speech with these words:—

"They had as much right to their opinion as himself; but a man who had been in South Africa for twenty years ought to know something about it. One thing he was convinced of when he returned to England was that it was a great disadvantage to some to be brought face to face with the facts."

"Is this True?"

Read what the *Daily News* says. A correspondent wrote to that paper about this leaflet, asking: "Is this true?"

Here is the *Daily News* answer (3rd May, 1905):—

"Of course it is True!"

"Prospects never so Bright."

The following letter was published in the *Times*, from "A Rand Miner" (Mr. W. H. Eagland), of Heron Cross, Fenton, North Staffordshire:—

"I should like, if you thought my opinion of any weight, to speak on the Rand Chinese question from a miner's point of view. Being newly returned from there, I am astonished at the ignorance people here show; they seem to have been wrongly informed of a great many things, chief of which is that the white man will eventually become a thing of the past, but which is a pure falsehood.

"I may say that since the advent of the 'Chow' the miners' prospects were never so bright, as wages have improved, all surplus labour which was enormous has been absorbed, and when I left, which was the middle of January, there seemed to be very few miners in search of a billet.

"I cannot think Lord Spencer is fully aware of the trouble, starvation, and hardship which will have to come to the thousands who have suffered so much since the war on account of shortage of labour, in the event of himself and party being placed in power to undo all the good that has been done during the last year, and send us back to the order of things prevailing twelve months ago, when the Rand was full of unemployed, and by starvation were driven to criminal acts.

"Why don't they sift really into the matter themselves before believing trumped-up stories invented for purely election purposes? It seems,

very hard to us that men are to be sacrificed in this manner."—*Times*, 25th February, 1905.

MR. STRONG SPEAKS.

Chinese Labour.

The extracts which we give below are from a letter written by Mr. J. Strong, of Johannesburg, formerly a member of the Cleveland Miners' Executive, to Mr. Joseph Toyn, President of the Cleveland Miners' Association. The letter is taken from the *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 27th February, 1905, a Radical paper, published at Middlesbrough.

Mr. Strong has himself been working in one of the large Transvaal mines. His testimony is, therefore, of great weight.

More White Labour.

In the course of his letter, Mr. Strong shows how foolish the Radicals are in saying that whites are put out of work by the Chinese:—

"I see it is asserted in England that Chinese labour is displacing white. **No greater fallacy was ever entertained.** On the other hand, through Chinese being employed, it has enabled lots of mines to start work that were idle before they came, and in this way it has given work to hundreds of workmen at a good wage, on an average of £1 per day. You seem to have got into your heads that white labour should be employed instead of Chinese labour. So it could if it was as cheap and as efficient, but it is neither, and I have not yet found the white workman out here that wants it to be as cheap."

A Dismal Failure.

The Radicals are always pretending that unskilled white labour is successful in the mines, and that there has been no need to get the Chinese at all. This is another little Radical fairy tale which Mr. Strong knocks on the head, in the following words:—

"I have seen a lot of silly talk in the English papers about how successful white labour was in the mine I am working in, viz.: the Village Main Reef. Undoubtedly white labour was tried to a greater extent on the Village Main Reef than in any other mine in the Transvaal. But if the people imagine that white labour was employed exclusively in this mine they are very much mistaken.

"There were never less than 700 Kaffirs employed in the mine, and I think never more than 150 or 200 white unskilled labourers employed. About the success of this white labour from an economic standpoint, I will not say much, only that, in my opinion, it was a dismal failure, and I have never yet met the man that claims any success for it."

The Greatest Degradation.

Unskilled labour for white men is not only a failure, but a degradation. Read what Mr. Strong says, and ask whether you would like your brothers and friends to work along with the blacks.

"Let me take it from another standpoint—that is, how it affected the self-respect of the men. In the first place, they were put to work

alongside the native, a position which in South Africa is considered to be one of the **greatest degradations** that you can subject a white man to. Such degradation does not obtain even in the gaols here. Even there they are always kept apart."

And again,

"They lost whatever self-respect they ever possessed, and the respect of their fellows, and by the ordinary workman of the mine they were never referred to by any other term than that of 'stiff.' Although disgusted, my heart has bled for them many a time. But here was a terrible danger and menace for the white workman. You could not expect the employers to pay one set of white workmen £1 per day, and another set of white workmen 3s. 6d. No, it was demonstrated that it was impossible for any white man to keep himself on a wage like that, let alone keep a family. Yet we have men like Mr. Cresswell, the late manager of the Village Main Reef Mine, asserting to this day that if he had been left alone he could have degraded the men and brought them down to this level."

Sleeping Rough.

There is yet another reason why the unskilled white is no good in the mines. Plainly put, the Radicals cannot answer it. It is that they could not live on the wages they would get as unskilled workmen. Read what Mr. Strong says:—

"Again let me take it from the standpoint that the success of English labour is always judged from—viz., the wage-earning power of the workman. In the Transvaal it is impossible for a workman to keep a home decently for less than £20 per month, and from that fact the standard wage of £1 per day is set up. (The capitalists of South Africa don't pay this wage for the fun of the thing.) In the face of what I have stated above, these men were paid by the manager of the mine 8s. 6d. per day, or between £10 and £11 per month, and the cheapest fare that I am aware he could find would cost him £7 per month, and everything else he had to buy was in proportion to this. If he wanted a **glass of beer it would cost him sixpence**, a tot of whisky would cost him a shilling, and so on. The cheapest at which he can obtain an evening's amusement is 6s. Yet it was assumed that he could manage this on 8s. 6d. per day. It is just like asking a Cleveland workman to meet his financial obligations on 2s. per day. No, it was an impossibility for them to do it. After paying for their food, &c., they had nothing left to pay for sleeping accommodation, and slept about the mine in any old disused cabin or banksman's house they could find, even in the dirty end of a boiler-house."

Could now if they wished to.

The mine owners and the slaveholders are always sneered at by the Radicals. They wanted Chinese labour to keep out the white men, that is what Radicals tell you. But the workmen now outnumber the owners. They could use their power if they wanted to.

"You say that the reason why the Chinese were introduced is because the capitalists are afraid that the workmen will, if introduced in any numbers, get too much political power. What their minds are on that point I am not aware of. But what I do know is that to-day there are on the Rand 99 workmen to every capitalist, and if they, as workmen, want to use that power for their own selfish ends, and not for the benefit of the

country, they can do it. What I believe the capitalists are anxious to do is to keep a well-paid contented class of workmen on the Rand, because, if, on the other hand, they have an underpaid, discontented class of workmen, troubles, both economic and political, would occur."

The Result.

And finally here is Mr. Strong's personal opinion of what will be the result of the introduction of the Chinese. It is the opinion of the man on the spot who knows:—

"My personal opinion is that the Chinaman will just manage to lift this country out of the mire. They are proving cheap and efficient labourers as far as they have gone. Personally, I don't believe that out of the scores and scores of mines that there are in the Transvaal that ten could be economically worked by white labour. In fact, I don't believe that any more than two could be successfully worked; all the rest would have to shut down. That is my opinion. But people in England who have never seen the Transvaal seem to know better. I know that there are people from the Transvaal at home trying to instil the idea into the minds of the people that it is all a capitalistic game. But they know better. They are mostly a lot of disappointed discontents, who have finished their career in the Transvaal."

This letter shows you that the white man wants the Chinese labourer. The Chinese mean more work and more wages to him; money and happiness for his wife and children.

The man on the spot tells you that the Radicals do not know what they are talking about on the question. Remember that your fellow whites in the Transvaal depend on the mines for their work.

Mean White Labour.

We have heard much from Radical speakers of Mr. Cresswell and the benefits he conferred upon the white miners of the Transvaal. The white miners are not so enamoured of Mr. Cresswell's schemes, as the following extract shows:—

"At a smoking concert under the auspices of the Transvaal Miners' Association at the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on the Saturday before the mail left, Mr. J. Woods, Secretary of the Association, in responding to the toast of the evening, said he would like to say that the miners of the Rand were not in favour of white labour at 8s. per day, as Mr. Cresswell, the former manager of the Village Main Reef, advocated. Mr. Cresswell had said he would try to bring about the employment of more whites in the mines than had ever been employed before. Mr. Cresswell proposed to put two white men on one machine—one man to receive 8s. 6d. a day, and the man at the spool 8s. a day. A skilled miner to-day, on one machine, received 20s. a day, with two 'boys' to help him. White labour was not beneficial to any of them, because they could not make a living wage."—*South Africa*, 1st July, 1905.

A Skilled White's Views.

South Africa (25th November, 1905) published an interesting interview with Mr. F. J. Weatherhead, a blacksmith, returning to the Rand after a holiday in England. Mr. Weatherhead has worked on the mines for

13 years, so Radicals must admit that he knows something of the unskilled labour problem. His replies should prove uncomfortable reading for Radicals.

Mr. Weatherhead was asked:—"Could the mines be worked by white labour?"

He replied:—"IMPOSSIBLE. Cresswell tried it and failed. It would mean the closing down of nineteen mines out of twenty."

Again:—"And as to Chinese labour?"

"It is an ABSOLUTE NECESSITY. POLITICALLY I AM A LIBERAL, but I can tell the Liberal party that if they repeal the Chinese labour ordinance they will THROW 5,000 WHITE MEN OUT OF WORK AT ONCE. We could do without the Chinese if we could get enough Kaffir labour. But we cannot; and it is altogether untrue to state, as I have seen it stated in some English papers, that Kaffir labourers have been refused employment at the mines. There is work for every native boy that chooses to apply for it."

Mr. Weatherhead was also asked as to the prospects for white men on the Rand. Was there plenty of employment?

"Plenty," he replied, "for good skilled mechanics; but the people we do not want out there are the white unskilled labourers, like those chaps who went out a little while ago to pretend to do the same work as the Kaffirs and Chinamen. They are really doing work such as has always been done by white men, and doing it at less wages."

Later he was more emphatic: "The country is as good as over it was for the white man who is a skilled mechanic and means to work, but the other sort had better keep away. We don't want them and won't have them."

Mr. Douglas Blackburn's Information.

The *Times* of 9th November, 1905, publishes a valuable letter from Mr. D. Blackburn, Assistant Editor of the *Johannesburg Daily Express*. It was in this paper that Mr. Boland's allegations originally appeared, which were taken up with so much avidity by the Radical press and speakers. Mr. Blackburn's opinion upon the charges is that "the incidents narrated WERE EXCEPTIONAL AND NOT GENERAL."

Mr. Blackburn, in the course of his letter, asks a very pertinent question:—

"Why this touching solicitude on the part of the Liberal party for the welfare of the alien Chinese coolie? Is it genuine sympathy or merely political hypocrisy?"

Mr. Blackburn has good grounds for doubting the genuineness of the Radical cry of "slavery." It is best to let him tell his story in his own words. He continues:—

"I ask this in all seriousness, for the very good reason that when, in 1897, I took up in my paper, the *Transvaal Scout*, the case of the treatment of Kaffirs in the mines and the malpractices of the labour agents, and represented it temperately in a specially prepared article which I sent to most of the leading English Liberal papers and many prominent Liberal members of Parliament, I failed entirely to elicit a word of sympathy or support. Yet the treatment of the Chinese is luxurious compared to that meted out to the natives under the old régime."

Mr. Blackburn tried in vain to induce the London Liberal Press to ventilate these grievances. General Viljoen, "with the reason for the

faith that was in him," chaffed Mr. Blackburn unmercifully on the failure of his efforts to stir up the Liberal party and frequently declared:—"THEY WILL NEVER HELP YOU AGAINST US."

This letter is a fitting exposure of Radical hypocrisy. Under the rule of their friend, Mr. Kruger, the natives might be ill-treated with impunity; but when there is the slightest chance of making political capital out of the question, they were ready with their cry of "Slavery under the Union Jack."

Mr. Blackburn was at first "strongly opposed" to the introduction of Chinese labour. But he is now satisfied that:—

"Under proper conditions and control, it is vastly superior to Kaffir labour, both from the economical, social, and humane points of view."

He is also convinced that:—

"The agitation against Chinese labour is largely fomented on the Rand for political and anti-capitalist purposes."

It will be interesting to see the Radicals trying to shuffle out of these damaging exposures.

Mr. Burt on Chinese Labour.

Mr. Burt, the Labour Leader, and M.P. for Morpeth, went to South Africa and saw the Chinese. A brief cable, a short time ago, recorded his opinion.

A longer account of the interview is in the *Goldfields News*, from which *South Africa* quotes Mr. Burt as saying:—

"I am entirely hostile to the method under which the Chinese are brought to the Transvaal, and to the restrictions imposed on them, but having said that, I must add that I inspected the compounds, kitchens, dining halls and all the arrangements as to hospitals, &c., and having seen the food supplied to them, I DON'T THINK THAT, WITH REGARD TO THE FOOD AND TREATMENT, THERE CAN BE ANY REASONABLE COMPLAINT."—*South Africa*, 8th April, 1905.

On being asked whether the term "SLAVERY" was applicable to the conditions under which the Chinese had come into the Transvaal, Mr. Burt:—

"Smilingly replied that he had not himself used that term; but he certainly would not call the position of the Chinese labourers freedom in the sense in which he understood that word."—*South Africa*, 8th April, 1905.

So evasive an answer upon this point is worthy of a Radical at his best. But Mr. Burt's answer to another question was equally vague:—

"And what happens to the Chinamen if the Liberals are returned to power?"

"Mr. Burt replied, with a knowing smile, 'Time will show.'"—*South Africa*, 8th April, 1905.

"Time will show," and, we predict, will have its revenge on the Radicals for the political "slavery" agitation they have got up as a stepping-stone to power.

We have also statements in Mr. Burt's book, "A Visit to the Transvaal."

"I have never believed that there can be any great employment of white unskilled workers in the Transvaal."

"I have never myself been under the delusion that the Transvaal is a white man's country in the sense that it will ever give employment to white workers in any considerable numbers. In fact, I do not think it either practicable or desirable that the gold mines should be worked exclusively by white men in a country where the whites are so vastly outnumbered by the coloured population."—"Visit to the Transvaal," p. 71.

THE STORY OF THOMAS A. SEE.

We hope every elector will be told the story of Thomas A. See. It will show them how the "slavery" cry is being carried about.

Self-Sacrifice.

Mr. Thomas A. See appeared for one day in the columns of the *Daily Chronicle*, well-known as the leading "yellow slavery" paper. On 31st July they published a long article, with "scare" headlines, which they called "Remarkable Disclosures from Within."

This article, we were told, had been:—

"Written for the *Daily Chronicle* by Tse Tsi Shau (Englished, Thomas A. See), a Chinaman, who was appointed Chinese Adviser and interpreter on the East Rand Mines, a position carrying a salary of £600 per annum."

We were also told that Thomas A. See gave up his job worth £600 a year:—

"Because of his disapproval of the manner in which his fellow-countrymen were treated."

Thomas sees the D.C.

So Thomas A. See came to England to enlist the sympathy of the Radical Press on behalf of his down-trodden countrymen. The *Daily Chronicle* says:—

"Mr. See travelled from South Africa to London expressly to communicate his experiences to the Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*."

How honoured must the editor have felt to be chosen as the bearer of the "heartrending story" (to quote the *D.C.*) of the self-sacrifice of Thomas A. See.

But alas for Thomas A. See! The London secretary of the Transvaal Chamber of Mines saw his article, and sent to the editor of the *Daily Chronicle* a letter containing a little incident in the life of this Celestial.

Radicals Fighting unfairly.

This letter the *Daily Chronicle* did not put in their paper. That is the kind of thing we can expect from the Press of the "party of freedom." Their columns are open to attacks likely to do the Conservatives harm; but they are not open to replies showing the mistakes made by the attacking party.

That is only by the way. Finding that the *Daily Chronicle* would not publish his letter, the London Secretary sent it with a covering letter to the *Standard*.

Here are two communications taken from the *Standard* (3rd August):—

"202, 203, and 203, Salisbury House,
"Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.
2nd August, 1905.

"To the Editor of the *Standard*.

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to enclose copy of a letter which I sent to the Editor of the *Daily Chronicle* yesterday afternoon, and which, in spite of my request for publication, has not appeared in this morning's issue of that paper. Great prominence was given by the *Chronicle* to the article by Thomas A. See, and the statements contained in it may mislead the public unless they are allowed the opportunity of forming a judgment regarding the reliability of allegations made by him. I would esteem it a great favour if you could find space for this communication and the enclosure in your columns.

"Thanking you in anticipation.—I am, yours truly,

"A. R. GOLDRING,
"London Secretary,
"Transvaal Chamber of Mines."

A Matter of Business.

[Copy.]

"202, 203, and 206, Salisbury House,
"Finsbury Circus, London, E.C.
"1st August, 1905.

"SIR,—I have noticed the article headed 'Chinese on the Rand,' which appeared in your issue of yesterday. To enable you to judge what dependence can be placed on the statements made by Tse Tsi Shau (Thomas A. See), the writer of the article, I give an extract, which speaks for itself, from a letter which he wrote from East London, Cape Colony, on the 3rd April last, just after he left Johannesburg, to Mr. G. W. Higgins, Managing Director of the East Rand Proprietary Mines, Limited. Needless to say, the East Rand Proprietary Mines, Limited, did not reply."

"Extract from letter from Tse Tsi Shau, ex-Chinese adviser to the East Rand Proprietary Mines (Limited), to Mr. G. W. Higgins:—

"I am prepared for every emergency. The Chinese communities are paying me £400 for expenses, and £600 for compensation for giving up my billet on the East Rand. I have taken advantage of a good thing, and if you think it worth your while to stop me from speaking on the matter, I am willing to consider your offer. In accepting your offer, I sever myself from all connections with my countrymen here, and shall be branded for ever a traitor. I hope you will not take this matter in the light of 'blackmail.' It is a matter of business where I mean to gain, and you know what it is worth. I shall leave here in a couple of days for Port Elizabeth. If you care to negotiate, kindly write to me, c/o Post Restante, Port Elizabeth."

"Might I ask you kindly to give this letter the same prominence as was accorded to the article under reference?

"I am, yours truly,

(Signed) "A. R. GOLDRING,
"London Secretary,
"Transvaal Chamber of Mines.

"The Editor of the *Daily Chronicle*,
"Daily Chronicle Buildings, Fleet Street, E.C."

Poor *Daily Chronicle*, sold again by a wily Chinese. This self-sacrificing Thomas A. See, it appears, got the sum of £1,000 for showing:—

"His disapproval of the manner in which his fellow-countrymen were treated."

Conscientious Thomas A. See, whose sympathy for his countrymen could be measured by a cash transaction. "It is a matter of business," wrote Thomas A. See, when he tried to blackmail Mr. Higgins.

Thomas gone to China.

Thomas, like a wise man, has gone away out of the clutches of the *Daily Chronicle* he so beautifully sold. The humour of the last paragraph of the *Daily Chronicle*'s introduction to Thomas A. See's "heartrending story," could not be understood until Thomas' previous record came to light. Here it is:—

"Mr. See left England last week for China with the object of making known to his countrymen the treatment meted out to the Chinese labourers in the Transvaal."

We wonder if Thomas will have anything to say in China about the English editor he had, the mining company he tried to blackmail, and the way he tried to play the traitor to his countrymen?

We hope this will be a lesson to Radicals to be more careful in the witnesses they use to attack the Conservatives. It will be a lesson to every elector to be on his guard against believing Radical tales of "slavery" in the Rand Mines.

Charge and Withdrawal.

The "yellow slavery" agitators sometimes get beautifully sold, as the following incident bears witness:—

"DAILY CHRONICLE,"
27TH JULY, 1905.

KILLED BY CHINESE.

Reservist Murdered by Coolies in the Transvaal.

A Bolton man, James Higginbottom, has been killed by Chinamen in the Transvaal. Mr. Higginbottom was formerly a soldier, and went out to South Africa as a reservist. At the close of hostilities he accepted a post in the mines at Hatton Spruit, near Newcastle. On June 13th, when down the mine, he was attacked by either one or two coolies, struck on the head with some implement, and his head battered in. He never recovered consciousness, and died on June 17th. Mr. Higginbottom leaves a widow and a young child.

"DAILY CHRONICLE,"
28TH JULY, 1905.

MURDERED BY COOLIES.

Yesterday, in the *Daily Chronicle*, appeared a statement announcing the murder of a reservist in South Africa at the Hatton Spruit Mines, near Newcastle. We erroneously described this murder as having been committed by Chinamen. As a matter of fact, it was committed by British Asiatics, and did not occur in the Transvaal, but at the St. George's Colliery in the Dundee district of Natal.

We refrain from commenting upon this little incident, except to remark that the "Killed by Chinese" charge appeared with all the importance of large headlines, large type, and a prominent position in the paper; the explanation appeared in small type at the bottom of a column—a matter apparently of little importance.

Nailed!

The Radical attack on Chinese labour has not been characterised by a strict regard for accuracy. We have had many wild statements, and among the wildest was the charge that Mr. William Evans, the Chinese Protector, had left South Africa because of the indescribable condition under which the Chinese worked in that country.

The following contains the Radical accusation and Mr. Evans' reply:—

"DAILY CHRONICLE,"
24TH OCTOBER, 1904.
CHINESE PROTECTOR LEAVES.
Disgusted with the "Indescribable
Conditions" under which the
Coolies work.

Mr. William Evans, formerly Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, who was induced by the Government to go to South Africa to superintend the arrangements connected with the importation and the housing of the Chinese in South Africa, has refused any longer to remain there.

The statement is made on the authority of Mr. Honey, secretary to the Bradford Liberal Association, who addressed a meeting at Shipley on Saturday night.

Mr. Honey declared that the reason was that Mr. Evans had always been a real "protector" of the Chinese. He would never consent to be a slave-driver, and the conditions under which the Chinese worked in South Africa were indescribable.

"TIMES,"
24TH DECEMBER, 1904.
CHINESE LABOUR ON THE RAND.

"With reference to a speech made by Mr. Honey, secretary of the Bradford Liberal Association, at Shipley, on October 22nd, in which he said that Mr. William Evans, formerly Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, and now adviser to the Transvaal Government on Chinese labour, had refused to remain in South Africa because of the indescribable conditions under which the Chinese worked in that country, Mr. W. A. Pickering, late Protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, sends us the following extract from a letter received from Mr. Evans, dated Johannesburg, November 22nd:—
'I am leaving South Africa because my twelve months from the Straits is up, and they want me back. The conditions under which the Chinese work and live here are such that I defy any reasonable man to find anything to cavil at after he has seen everything; accommodation, food, work, pay, all are excellent. I feel that my official position in the Straits is better than here. Moreover, I do not like this country after twenty years in the Straits. This is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth.'

HOW RADICALS FIGHT.

Chinese Labour at Bye-Elections.

It may be useful here to give one or two examples showing the unscrupulous way in which Chinese Labour has been used by the Radicals at bye-elections.

Parodies on Hymns.

The first thing that strikes the eye, on taking up the *Chertsey Elector*, a broadsheet issued during the Chertsey election in July, 1904, is "Ballads for Britons," which consists of a profane parody on a hymn dear to the heart of Nonconformist and Churchman alike. If the Radicals imagined that they could appeal to the religion of the electors to further their political objects, they must have a very low opinion of the religious feeling of this country. One parody commenced:—

The Gold Reef City.

Johannesburg the golden,
With heaps of money blest,
Where helots of all nations
By Kruger were oppressed!

The other did not appear in the *Chertsey Elector*, but was distributed round the constituency as a leaflet. It began:—

There is a happy Rand,
Far, far away,
Wehr(ner) Eit (sic) und Beckstein (sic) pay
One bob a day.
There Chin-Chins toil all day,
And, toiling, sadly say,
"Chinese man likee be
Far, far away."

Beri-Beri.

Another quotation from the *Chertsey Elector* runs as follows:—

"Just as we are going to press a report, which lacks confirmation, reaches us to the effect that beri-beri has broken out in the East End of London, having been brought over by a steamer engaged in the indentured labour traffic. We trust that the authorities are taking precautions to prevent the disease from spreading over Middlesex and Surrey."

If this was inserted with any serious intent it shows the low opinion held by the Radicals of the intelligence of the electorate. But if it was an example of their efforts to amuse, then it is a form of humour which is distinctly out of place.

The Truthful Radical.

The Radical Party, who denounce Conservative facts as "shameful falsehoods," are conveniently blind when their speakers or writers wander off the path of truth. At the Oswestry election in July, 1904, Radical misrepresentation flourished. The following is an extract from some jingling verses that were circulated during the Shropshire election:—

"One day he'll come to London town, and thence through England stray,
The pig-tail race will get your place, your food, your work, your pay;
You'll find him in the factory, you'll see him in the shop,
Chin! Chin! Chinaman, Chop! Chop! Chop!"

"At last he'll come to Oswestry, where farming does not pay,
Because the farmer has to give his men three bob a day;
Suppose they bring the Chinaman to gather in the crop,
Chin! Chin! Chinaman, Chop! Chop! Chop!"

This sickening twaddle is the kind of stuff with which Radicals fight elections. We wonder what the leaders of the party think of their subordinates' tactics. How the *Daily News* would rave if the Conservative Party descended to the use of such unblushing scurrility. The Radicals are proud of their victory. We should not be proud of an election won by such means.

We notice that the jingle in question was written by a clergyman. We are sorry to see it. That a minister of the Church of England should so far forget himself as to pen such infamous misrepresentations is a matter for deep dismay. We would venture to remind him of a certain passage in the Catechism concerning "evil-speaking, lying and slandering."

How Radicals Win.

The North Westmorland, in March, 1905, was a "moral" victory for the Radicals. That is to say, they held the seat, but only by a reduced majority. How they succeeded is told by a correspondent in the *Yorkshire Post*. After reading his letter one may even doubt as to the morality of the victory.

"The questions which gave Mr. Jones the greatest help were those of Chinese labour and the rise in the price of sugar, each of which was worked with an unscrupulous energy and an utter disregard of truth. One speaker on behalf of Mr. Jones, and who is at present engaged in certain divisions of Yorkshire, addressing meetings on behalf of the Liberal Party upon the Chinese labour question, was heard to tell an audience of working people the other night that the Government had passed an Ordinance by which British working men were not allowed to work in the Transvaal, and that the country which had been won by British blood had been handed over to foreign capitalists to control the mines and employ nothing but Chinese slaves; and he wound up by saying that not a farthing of British gold was invested in the Transvaal mines, the money belonging entirely to foreigners.

"In the same way the people were told in the out-of-the-way villages that the Government had raised the price of sugar, and that if they voted Tory they would take them back to the days when they lived upon brown bread and dog's flesh. Surely this shows how well under the circumstances Major Noble has done."—*Yorkshire Post*, 7th March, 1905.

We wonder whether those active Radical consciences are beginning to prick their owners. The best comment on these tactics is the golden rule laid down by the leader of Mr. Jones's party, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman:—

"Success does not always justify the methods that are used to obtain it."—*Hansard*, 14th March, 1901.

In connection with this another quotation occurs to mind. It is taken from a Radical song, and runs:—

"Honest principles inspire us."

"[Honest principles," indeed, where are they? It is a pity that the Radicals do not live up to them.

Chinese Labour.

Chinese labour did not play such a prominent part at the Chichester bye-election in June, 1905, as at Chertsey. We missed, too, an old friend of ours in the cartoon that was so industriously circulated in the Home Counties last summer, showing the Chinese manacled and guarded by armed soldiers.

Are they ashamed of that production? Or is it only withdrawn from the regrettable necessity of recognising unwelcome, but overwhelming, truth?

Still, it must not be inferred that they have left the question alone. Far from it. Mr. Allen, the Radical candidate, in his election address, expresses himself of opinion that the Government:—

"Seek to lessen the proportion of white men employed in those mines by introducing Chinese labourers under conditions hardly distinguishable from slavery."

If Mr. Allen can give any evidence of his first statement, showing that that condition is the object the Government had in view, we shall be obliged to him. For, as matters stand, it is a shameless travesty of fact.

What Slavery means.

Then, too, Mr. Allen is one of those unfortunate individuals whose gift of perception is very limited. If Mr. Allen desires to distinguish between Chinese labour and slavery, we should recommend him to read "Uncle Tom's Cabin." For his benefit, we quote the following extract from Mr. Paul's "History of Modern England" (Vol. ii., p. 341), who quotes Goldwin Smith's "Outline of Political History of the United States" (pp. 222-224). It may help him to appreciate the distinction.

"Not only was the plantation slave overworked and tortured with the lash, he was sometimes murdered and with impunity, as negro evidence was not admitted against whites. . . . Most revolting, if not most cruel of all, were the auction, at which husband and wife, parent and child were sold apart, the sight of droves of human cattle on their way to it, and the advertisements of human flesh, especially of girls nearly white."

We can also refer him to a leaflet which seems to have been issued, strangely enough on his behalf, whose writer talks of the "Arrant nonsense written in English papers about Chinese slavery."

Out with it.

The *Election Speaker*, issued on behalf of Mr. Allen, goes one better than their candidate; there is no shilly-shallying with the word "proportion." The writer asks:—

"What about the ousting of British labour in the Transvaal by means of cheap indentured Chinese labour."

Really we seem to be getting back to the refreshing untruths of the Chertsey election. How interesting it must be to the gentleman who can let his imagination so romance to recollect that the National Liberal Federation have dropped any reference to Chinese labour, and that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman has yet to promise that he will do away with Chinese "slavery" and the "ousting of British labour."

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